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The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor. We are verily guilty concerning our brother * * * * * * therefore is this distress come upon us. SAMUEL A. ALLEY, Printer.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST,
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LETTER OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

QUINCY, May 21, 1839.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: In a preceding letter, published in the National Intelligencer of 23d April last, I informed you of the manner in which the duty had been discharged of presenting to the House of Representatives the addresses to that body, which it had been your pleasure to commit to my care.

Of the *duty* of the House to *receive*, to *hear*, to *consider*, and to *answer* those petitions, memorials, and remonstrances I had no more doubt than of my own duty to present them, and to ask the action of the House upon them, from the moment when they were entrusted to my hands.

The majority of the House, however, were of a different opinion, and, following example which had been set by the Congress immediately preceding, and by themselves at the last preceding session, they resolved to *receive*, but to lay on the table, without reading, without printing, without debating, and without in any manner considering, every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper touching or relating to slavery in these United States, or the abolition thereof.

This resolution, you perceive, is not merely a general interdict of petitions and memorials from the People, but of resolutions, propositions, or papers, whether presented by members of the House itself, or coming from lawful assemblies of the People, or from the Legislatures of the States. It is precisely the same in result as if the House of Representatives had prohibited all its members from ever offering a resolution or addressing the Speaker upon any subject relating to slavery or the slave trade. It is equivalent to a prohibition to the People to assemble together to discuss the merits and demerits of slavery and the slave-trade. It is in the result precisely the same as if the House should send a guard of soldiers to close the doors of every Legislative Hall in the Union against all discussion upon the rights of man, the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, slavery, the slave-trade, and its abolition. At every passage of this resolution I have felt deep indignation—but far deeper humiliation. *I* have felt indignant at the suppression of my right as a member of the House—of the right of my constituents to use the privilege of freemen to assemble together and to deliberate upon freedom and slavery—of the right of the Legislature of my native Commonwealth to pass resolutions expressing their detestation and that of their constituents of slavery in all its forms. But the deep humiliation that I have felt was as an American citizen. It was the consciousness of degradation from the lofty stand we had taken among the nations of the earth, as the first proclaimers of the inalienable freedom of the human race. The ignominious transformation of the People who had commenced their career in the world by the Declaration of Independence, into a nation of slave-traders and slave-breeders, for sale, was a contemplation mortifying beyond endurance.

I considered the institution of domestic slavery existing in the States of the Union as a misfortune entailed upon them in their colonial condition, which, at the time of the Revolution, they considered in that light themselves. It was, however, a part of their internal organization, over which the Congress of the Revolution had never exercised jurisdiction, and which, so long as it could be maintained in peace, was reserved for the exclusive legislation of the several States. There was obviously a gross inconsistency between the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and the practice of holding human beings in perpetual and hereditary bondage; and the supreme judicial tribunal of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had decided, even before the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, repeated in the Declaration of Rights prefixed to the Constitution of the State, had *ipso facto* abolished all slavery within the State.

During the war, and for several years after, slaves were considered as very unprofitable property.—When the constitution of the United States was adopted, the people of the free States were anxiously desirous of prohibiting the importation of negroes from Africa. South Carolina and Georgia were, however, not prepared for that, and a compromise was effected, by which a term of twenty years was allowed for procuring a supply of the article, and the trade was prohibited in 1808.

But in the mean time, cotton had become a staple article of our exportation, and some years after the Colonization Society was instituted.

Human foresight is sometimes strangely at fault in devising expedients for improving the condition of mankind. The African slave-trade was if not introduced, countenanced and recommended by Las Casas, one of the most amiable and benevolent of mankind, to save the Indian race from utter extermination.

When the Congress of the Confederation, in the same year (1787) in which the convention at Philadelphia sent for the ratification of the People the Constitution of the United States, enacted, by the ordinance for the government of the Northwestern Territory, that there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within it, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes; and when the power to prohibit the African slave-trade was so universally and implicitly understood to be delegated to Congress by the general power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, that no express provision was inserted in the Constitution restraining them from the exercise of that power for twenty years, little was it imagined that the day would come when, within these United States, public men, ambitious of a name and aspirants to popular favor, would be found to sophisticate slavery into a blessing, and to charge the signers of the Declaration of Independence with deliberate falsehood and perjury, with treason to their country and blasphemy to God. Yet so it is. If the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence as self-evident truths *are not true*; if it be not true that all men are created equal; if they are *not* endowed by their creator with inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; if Governments are *not* instituted to secure these rights, and do not derive their *just* powers from the *consent* of the *governed*—then the People of the United Colonies had no right to renounce their allegiance to the Government of Great Britain—no right to declare themselves independent—*no right* to take their separate and equal station among the Powers of the earth. In assuming that station, they declare themselves entitled to it by the laws of Nature's God. By the laws of that same God they had been bound in allegiance to their king. To this tie of allegiance, binding upon them from their birth, multitudes of them had superadded the obligations of solemn and voluntary oaths. *Who* could absolve them from these sacred pledges of their faith? *Who* but that people themselves? And for what cause but that the Government itself had forfeited the right to their allegiance by perverting its power to the destruction of the ends for which Governments are instituted. Take away from the Declaration of Independence its self-evident truths, the natural and inalienable rights of man, and you rob the North American Revolution of all its moral principle, and proclaim it a foul and unnatural rebellion.

In the days of the Declaration of Independence there were politicians, ay, and moralists—profound, conscientious moralists—who maintained that doctrine; but they were not *American* patriots, statesmen or jurists. North and Mansfield, the prime minister and the chief dispenser of the justice of the realm of England, verily believed that the people of the colonies were *rebels* and *traitors*, and were prepared to hang, draw, quarter, and embowel them, to prove the sincerity of their faith. Nor were they alone. Junius, the great unknown—Junius, the grave, the didactic, the sublime champion of *English* liberty, utterly repudiating the dogmatic and godless English lawyer's creed of the *omnipotence* of Parliament, still formally disclaims the concession of Chatham that the legislative power of Parliament was not the same over the colonies as over the island of Britain. Dr. Samuel Johnston, the most renowned moralist of the age, could earn his pension of three hundred pounds a year by proving, in sesquipedalian prose, that taxation without representation was no tyranny. And Soame Jenyns, the philosopher and poet, the ingenious author of the Internal Evidences of Christianity, to whom Paley is so deeply indebted—Soame Jenyns, the poet and metaphysician, the profound discourser upon the nature of time and the origin of evil, and the elegant translator of the Latin poem of Browne on the Immortality of the Soul, not only considered the *right* and *expediency* of taxing the colonies by Parliament indisputably clear, but, in a disquisition on government and civil liberty, has so completely forestalled the philosophers of nullification of the present day in their warfare against the self-evident truths of the Declaration of independence, that their omission to give him credit for their arguments leaves them not entirely free from the imputation of plagiarism.

In estimating the opinions of others upon politics, religion, and morals, while we are bound to follow exclusively the dictates of our own judgment, enlightened by the honest and faithful search after truth, we must make large allowances and exercise a liberal spirit of toleration. In the *moral* question of the North American Revolution, the primary source of all the arguments on the British side was *constituted power*. The arguments on the American side were all drawn from *elementary right*. When the basement-story of the edifice is laid, the superstructure naturally rises upon corresponding principles of architecture. The framers of the Declaration of Independence *could* justify themselves and their country—first for their resistance against oppression; and finally, for undertaking and accomplishing the Revolution upon no other principles than those which they declared. If their principles were unsound, American Independence was nothing more than successful rebellion.

I adhere to the ethics of the Revolution. The self-evident truths of the Declaration of independence are still self-evident truths, whether contested by the Chancellor of the British Exchequer or by a professor at the college of William and Mary; whether clashing with the law of a Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, or with the equity of a Chancellor of the State of South Carolina.

That the Lords NORTH and MANSFIELD, and the vast majority of their contemporary countrymen, were sincere in the belief that they had a righteous cause, and that WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN, HANCOCK and RICHARD HENRY LEE, ROGER SHERMAN and ARTHUR MIDDLETON, were rebels and traitors, we have no reason to doubt. The truths of the Declaration of Independence are not limited by time or place; they belong to the nature of man in every age and every clime. They may be subdued, but can never be suppressed.—They are truths at Constantinople and Pekin, at London and Paris, at Charleston and at Philadelphia. They were truths in the days of Abraham and of Solomon, Zoroaster and Confucius; but as truths to influence human conduct; they were unknown to all the nations of antiquity. They were revealed in the Gospel of Jesus, but were never expressly made the foundation of human government until they were proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence. But the Christian system of morals, while disclosing as eternal truth the natural equality of mankind, left all its practical consequences in their effect upon existing institutions to the slow and gradual process of the human intellect. The Kingdom of Heaven was the name by which Jesus Christ announced his system of religion and morality to the world; but he said it was a kingdom not of this world. He did not say that it was to demolish the three hundred thousand Gods of the Roman empire. Far less did he avow that it was to emancipate his country from tributary subjection to the Roman Emperor. On the contrary, though distinctly contesting the right of the Roman Government to exact tribute from him, he performed a miracle to pay the tribute for himself and his first Apostle; and when asked, for the express purpose of entangling him, whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Ceasar, he avoided the snare by an indirect and indecisive answer. He disclaimed all intention of destroying the ritual of the Levitical law, and left it as a matter of grave controversy between his principal disciples till the abolition of that law was expressly disclosed in a vision to Peter.

But although the kingdom of Christ was not of this world, and although Christ himself cautiously avoided all direct collision with existing institutions, religious or political, it was distinctly foreseen, even during his life, and still more clearly immediately after his death, that the Mosaic law, the Roman worship of idols, and the Roman dominion over tributary provinces must eventually be abolished by the prevalence of Christianity. And whoever faithfully studies the Christian system as a code of religion and morals, and exercises in reflection upon it the intellectual faculty bestowed upon him by his Maker, cannot possibly fail of coming to the conclusion that all violence, tyranny, and oppression, all exercise of unjust power by man over man, must ultimately fall before it. In the book of futurity, therefore, it is written as clearly as in the Gospel of Christ, that war and slavery shall cease to exist upon earth; that nation shall no more rise against nation, neither shall there be war any more. But of the period of time within which this revolution in the history of mankind, and this purification of the human character, is to be consummated, we have no distinct revelation, nor is human reason competent to foresee. That hundreds and perhaps thousands of years must elapse in the progress of this improvement in the condition of the only rational tenant of the terrestrial globe, there cannot be a doubt, nor is it less clear that the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence as self-evident truths, to be carried into practical execution by all human Governments, are among the most effective means by which this progress is to be completed.

That the glaring inconsistency between the institutions of domestic hereditary slavery and these principles proclaimed as self-evident truths was one of the errors and infirmities of man, which would most speedily be made to vanish from the American code of legislation, was universally expected. In thirteen States of this Union slavery has been actually abolished. In seven more, until very recently, the friends of freedom have cherished the sanguine hope and expectation that this curse would be banished from their borders; but, in the mysterious ways of Providence, while, in the opinion of mankind, slavery has been growing more and more odious; while all the civilized nations of the earth have been combining to exterminate the African slave-trade, and to class it with the detested crime of piracy, here in our country, slavery, like the wounded rattlesnake, has turned upon her pursuers, and not only thrusts out her deadly fang in self-defence, but threatens with her moral venom to contaminate us all.

In seeking for the source of this strange retrogression in the public opinion of our Southern Confederates, it is painful to observe that it must be traced to three causes, from which far other consequences might be hoped, and were anticipated. They were, 1. The introduction of the culture of cotton. 2. The prohibition of the African slave-trade; and 3. The institution of the Colonization Society.—The consequence of these three incidents has been, by one and the same operation, greatly to increase the pecuniary value of slaves as property, and to aggravate the cruelty of holding them in bondage. The cultivation of cotton has given a double or treble value to their labor; and as, by the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, that labor is their own, the cruelty and oppression of depriving them of it, and of appropriating it to other men, is proportionally aggravated. The prohibition of the importation of slaves from Africa, combining with this increased value of slave labor, has given to the domestic producer of the living article of merchandise all the benefits of a monopoly; which the Colonization Society has still further promoted by reducing the number of the living chattels, and thereby increasing the demand for them in the market.

I wish to take no part in the controversies between the Abolition and Colonization Societies, all of which I believe to have been formed under the influence of laudable motives, and all to promote the ultimate emancipation of the slaves in this Union. I believe the plans hitherto proposed by them *all*, so far as regards the abolition of slavery, utterly impracticable; and I believe them all equally liable, *at this time*, to the charge of pertinaciously persisting in the pursuit of objects obviously and notoriously impracticable.

I will not undertake dogmatically to affirm that colonies of civilized colored men cannot be established and made to flourish on the coast of Africa; nor am I prepared in advance to deny the influence which they may hereafter be destined to exercise in civilizing the native land of slavery itself. So far as these may be the objects of the Colonization Societies, they have my fervent good wishes, though very little of my hopes. But for the emancipation of slaves or the abolition of slavery in the United States, the search for the philosopher's stone, or the casting of nativities by the course of the stars, were rational and sensible amusements in comparison with the serious undertakings of the Colonization Society.

With a high and sincere respect for many of the leading members of that Society, a grave objection to which it has in my mind been always liable is that of wearing a double face. Consisting of distinguished citizens from the free and from the slaveholding States, it is commended to the patronage of the North and of the South upon totally different and indeed opposite principles. At the North it has been and is strictly an abolition society. The removal to Africa of emancipated slaves is the argument in the North to the humanity of the benevolent and the liberality of the rich. To remove from the plantation slave the dangerous and disaffected neighborhood of the free colored man is the favorite argument for Colonization at the South. There is in this an appearance of duplicity, the more unfavorably prepossessing candid minds, inasmuch as experience hitherto countenances the conclusion that the Southern foresight had more of worldly wisdom on this occasion than that of the North.

Other and recent circumstances, little noticed hitherto by the Public, have raised new questions with regard to the undertakings of the Colonization Societies, which, without attaching undue importance to them, have bearings of very serious aspect upon the principles of our Government. In the course of the last year the American Colonization Society has been reinstituted under a new organization, and its directors have undertaken by self-assumed authority, to constitute a *Republic of Liberia*, and to confer upon the people of that Republic the sovereign power of declaring war, concluding peace, and regulating commerce, with legislative, executive, and judicial departments of Government, all subject to the absolute and arbitrary control of the Directors of the American Colonization Society. And will you believe, that when, during the late session of Congress, I was about to expose this enormous assumption of power by a private association of American citizens, I was called to order, and not permitted to proceed, by the arbitrary interdict of the Chair, because, forsooth, it was not *relevant* to the question whether the Republic of Hayti should be recognised as an independent State! A sovereign, black Republic of Liberia, under the protection and control of the American Colonization Society! Mr. Van Buren has been severely censured for denouncing, in his last annual Message to Congress, the anti-republican tendencies of associated *wealth*. If the imputation of anti-republican tendencies had been extended to *all* partial associations, it would have been more just and less exceptionable.

For what is the Republic itself but *associated wealth?* The very name of Republic is compounded of two Latin words, RES PUBLICA, signifying the associated wealth of the People; and the word Commonwealth is but the literal Anglo-Saxon version of the same elements. The Republic, the Commonwealth, and associated wealth, are terms precisely synonymous, and to charge associated wealth, with anti-republican tendencies is to say that the Republic itself is anti-republican. The very derivation of this compound word, both in the Latin and English languages proves that the institution of civil society is identical with associated wealth, as its great purposes are to protect and secure the rights of property as well as of persons.

But as the Republic itself is one great community of associated wealth, it may be said with strict propriety, and all experience will confirm the observation, that anti-republican tendencies are incidental to all partial associations for the promotion of objects other than the good of all. The tendencies of associated wealth are therefore not more anti-republican, perhaps not so much so, as those of associated poverty. The anti-republican tendency consists not in the wealth or poverty of the parties, but in the principle of associated power, and in the purposes of the association. If it had been proposed to the President of the United States to introduce into his annual Message a note of censure upon the anti-republican tendencies of a Trades' Union, he would have perceived instantly the invidious complexion which it would have given to the Message. But if anti-republican tendencies were manifested by self-constituted associated power, tell me when and where it was, if not in the undertaking of the American Colonization Society to constitute a sovereign negro Republic in Africa.

Thus far, then, I concur in the sentiment of Mr. VAN BUREN, that all partial associations, organized for action to influence the course of the Government, have certain anti-republican tendencies, which require a watchful eye and a resolute purpose in the guardians of the public interests to keep them under control. And of all the combinations of associated wealth existing in this Union, that which is the most formidable to the Union itself, and to all its free institutions, is the associated wealth consisting of three millions of human beings, forming a capital estimated at twelve hundred millions of dollars. Of the anti-republican tendencies of *that* associated wealth there can be no doubt, and a President of the United States anxiously desirous to signalize his administration by uncompromising hostility to anti-republican tendencies may find ample occupation for his patriotism in resisting the usurpations of that same associated wealth, instead of a pigmy warfare with the anti-republican tendencies of exchange brokers, insurance companies, and cotton factories.

I consider the assumption of power by the American Colonization Society, in constituting the sovereign Republic of Liberia, as one of those usurpations of that associated wealth by which and for whose purpose the Society was instituted. The world has seen with astonishment an East India Company exercising sovereign authority and dominion over millions of the people of Asia, but the English East India Company have never constituted sovereign Republics. The American Colonization Society, without even a charter from Congress, confers upon a few hundred negroes on the coast of Africa the power of making war and peace, of regulating commerce, and of doing whatever sovereign and independent states may of right do, but all subject to the control of this American private association. If the People are the source of all lawful Government, how can a private society in these United States bestow a Government upon the Republic of Liberia, in another quarter of the globe? If the Republic of Liberia is a sovereign state, invested with the power of making war and peace, how can they be subject to the direction and control of a self-constituted company of North Americans? All the theories of the rights of man upon which our political institutions are founded, all the republican principles of civil liberty and of self-government, are discarded and set at naught by this colonial Republic of Liberia.

The whole undertaking of the Colonization Society to establish colonies of free negroes on the coast of Africa, to disburden this continent from the load of its colored population, has, from its first inception, appeared to me a visionary and utterly impracticable though benevolent project. And, in assigning to you, friends and fellow-citizens, the reasons upon which I have declared myself not prepared to vote for the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, I must frankly acknowledge that one of my decisive reasons against it is the same which has deterred me from ever giving any aid or countenance to the Colonization Society—its impracticability.

The immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia is utterly impracticable.

First, Because the public opinion throughout the Union is against it. This public opinion throughout all the slave states is unanimous, or so nearly so that no one dares to avow an opinion favorable to the measure. No member of Congress from any one of the states where slavery is established would dare to vote for it, nor could he return with safety to his person among his constituents if he should.

Nor is the public opinion, in any one of the non-slave-holding states, with the possible exception of Vermont, favorable to it. The party of the present Administration are universally against it, if not in opinion, at least in action. All the strength of Mr. VAN BUREN in the South rests exclusively upon the pledges that he has given against this particular measure. All his friends in the North must and do sustain him in it. The Abolitionists are yet a small, and, I lament to say, a most unjustly persecuted party in all the free states. It is their martyr-age, and as they are in a great measure actuated by religious principle, they suffer with the spirit of martyrdom—an invincible but necessarily an unsuccessful principle, inasmuch as success leaves it no scope for action.

The immediate abolition of slavery, therefore, in the District of Columbia, is no more in the power of any member of Congress to effect than the immediate abolition of polygamy at Constantinople, or the immediate abolition of widow-burning in Hindostan; and if it were possible even to introduce into the House of Representatives a bill to that effect, I should vote against it so long as I should know it to be not only unwelcome but odious, to at least four-fifths of the People throughout the Union.

In a special manner should I be opposed to the enactments of a law to operate exclusively upon the people of the District of Columbia, against the will of that people, and in compliance with petitions from persons not to be affected themselves by the law. This is contrary to the first principles of our institutions. The Declaration of Independence derives all the just powers of government from the consent of the governed. When the People are represented in the Legislative Assembly, the consent of the whole must be inferred from the voice of the representative majority; but when the People are to be bound by laws emanating from a legislative assembly wherein they have no representatives, their will must be ascertained by manifestations from themselves. Now it is certain that a great majority of the inhabitants of the District are utterly averse to the abolition of slavery among them by law, and would consider it as an unconstitutional violation of their rights of property. I hold the opinion that one human being cannot be made the property of another. That persons and things are, by the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, so distinct that no human laws can transform either into the other. But this is not the opinion of the people of the District of Columbia; and in the enactment of laws to bear exclusively upon them, and not upon myself or my immediate constituents, I must be governed by their will and not by my own.

These two reasons—the impracticability of accomplishing by law a measure of transcendent importance against the public opinion of four-fifths of the nation, and the injustice of enacting a law against the will of those upon whom it is to bear, and at the will of others upon whom it is not to operate at all—have been, and will continue to be, decisive with me against any proposal in Congress for the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Either of them would, if alone, bring me to the same conclusion.

And indeed these have been among the reasons of my anxious desire that your petitions particularly for this measure, should not only be received by the House, but deliberately considered; referred to the Committee for the District of Columbia, or to a select committee; reported upon, and freely discussed by the House. I have believed, and still believe, that, after such full and free discussion, any bill for *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, should a committee even report such a bill, would be rejected in the House by a majority of at least four to one; and I have hoped that, if not all, great multitudes of you would, in the result of such discussion, become convinced that the time has not yet come when Justice herself would be satisfied with the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Your rights at least would thus be maintained inviolate. I trust that a full consideration by yourselves of the injustice, under all possible circumstances, of legislation over a people against their will, at the demand of another people not subject to the law themselves, would deter you from perseverance in a pursuit, your only motives for which are the dispensation of justice to all. But should it prove otherwise, should you persist in petitioning from session to session for the same boon, as in many of your petitions is declared to be your intention, the same respect, the same consideration, and the same answer should, in my judgment, be given to your petitions, so long as the same reason should be applied to them.

I had long indulged the hope that the abolition of slavery in this Confederacy would be effected by the People of the several States in which it exists; as has actually been done in the States of New York and Pennsylvania. Proposals for this most desirable consummation have, at different times, been actually made and discussed in the Legislatures of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, and the time has been when in all those States a majority, or even nearly a majority, of the People would have sanctioned the measure.—Within a few years a petition from many hundreds of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia itself was presented to Congress praying for the abolition of slavery there. The same spirit was then powerful, both in Virginia and Maryland. In both those States it is now silent, if not extinct.—The spirit of slavery has acquired not only an overruling ascendency, but has become at once intolerant, proscriptive, and sophistical. It has crept into the philosophical chairs of the schools. Its cloven-foot has ascended the pulpits of the churches. Professors of colleges teach it as a lesson of morals. Ministers of the Gospel seek and profess to find sanctions for it in the Word of God!

I can, therefore, no longer flatter myself with the expectation that in the short remnant of my life, slavery will be abolished in the States of Virginia and Maryland by their Legislatures, and with the consent of those States themselves; and I have never contemplated any other mode of abolition as desirable or as susceptible of receiving any countenance from an American citizen, faithful to his country, and friendly to the continuance of the Union. So long as the People of those two States shall be so decidedly averse to the general abolition of slavery, there is very little ground to hope that the People of the District of Columbia will be favorable to it among themselves.

That a change of sentiment on this subject will in the course of time, take place both in the States and in the District, I still hope, though I have little reason to anticipate that it will happen in my time.

The danger which I believe at this time most immediately threatens the Union arises from the struggle of the States in which slavery has taken too deep a root to be peaceably eradicated, to perserve, extend, and perpetuate that peculiar institution. The principle assumed and so earnestly maintained by them, that neither the People of the free States nor Congress have any right to interfere in any manner with their institutions, is not sufficient to serve their turn. They are continually summoning the free States to sacrifice their own principles, to sustain the institution of slavery.—We have seen them call importunately upon the free States for penal laws to punish their own citizens for harboring or performing the offices of common humanity to fugitive slaves. We have witnessed a negotiation of seven years, claiming from a foreign Government indemnity for slaves, liberated by shipwreck, beyond the jurisdiction of the slave State itself, and encroaching upon the free jurisdiction of the foreign State. We have seen the sacred protection of the post office violated with impunity, and with the avowed connivance of the officer at the head of the Department, to whom was committed the trust of that protection. And we have read resolutions of a slave State Legislature threatening vengeance against a sister State should she persist in refusing to deliver up for merciless punishment, not a fugitive slave, but one of her own citizens charged, without proof, with conniving at a slave's escape. The demand for the enactment of penal laws in the States, to rivet the chains of the slave, has not always been unsuccessful. The Legislature of the State of Ohio, at their very last session, at the demand of the Legislature of Kentucky, enacted a law for the delivery up of persons claimed as fugitive slaves by the fiat of a single magistrate, and denying to the arrested party the benefit of a trial by jury, and made it an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment to obstruct or impede the process.—It is also a notorious fact that the same Legislature, by a majority devoted to the present Administration of the General Government, dismissed from their service, as a member of the Senate of the United States, an individual of their own party, for no other cause than that he adhered to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and spurned a proffered pledge of servility to the peculiar institution.

The policy of the South with regard to the affairs of the Union is exclusively devoted to that object. That was the impulse under which they effected the dismemberment of Mexico, and the establishment of the Republic of Texas.—A part of that plan, as you now know, was to annex to this Union the new Republic, with an additional belt of five degrees of latitude across this Continent to the South Sea.—Had that plan been consummated, a territory sufficient for the foundation of ten States with the new brand of irrevocable slavery upon their brows would have been brought to sit like an incubus upon the nation, and nothing less than the inextinguishable energies of freedom could have saved you from the reinstituted curse of slavery upon yourselves. It may serve as consolation and encouragement to you, under the contemptuous treatment of your petitions, that, sligated as they were, they averted for a time that impending ruin. I say for a time; for you will do well not implicitly to trust that ostensible withdrawal by the Republic of Texas of her solicitation for the annexation of herself to this Union. The fraud and duplicity with which the whole project was conducted from the first mission of Mr. ANTHONY BUTLER to Mexico, and the confidential letters of the late President to the Secretaries of Arkansas and Florida down to the latest session of Congress when all your petitions against this meretricious amalgamation were laid unheard and unread, upon the table, are still at work and with exertions as active as ever. At the late session of Congress, the whole South, and the Administration part of the North, combined to suppress all debate and all discussion upon the subject of Texas; but if the projected annexation had been honestly and fairly abandoned, there could have been no possible motive then for refusing to hear, to consider and to answer, the petitions against it. The present purpose of the *Carolina* party apparently looks, however to a double process of Texian amalgamation and of separation from the North. You will understand whom I mean by the Carolina party. You are aware that within a few years a political sect or faction has arisen in the State of South Carolina under the guidance of a very small number of highly talented, ambitious, and disappointed men, of that class of politicians, the natural production of all great Republics, and characterized nearly two thousand years since by a Roman historian in four words—"Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum"—Eloquent, not wise. The first disclosure of their aspirations was by an ostentatious and persevering attempt to supplant Virginia as the leading State of the Union. When the line of Virginia Presidents was evidently drawing to a close, immediately after the second election of Mr. Monroe, the Legislature of South Carolina converted into a caucus, gravely and ardently held a debate which of two citizens of South Carolina, Mr. William Lowndes or Mr. John C. Calhoun, was to be successor to the Presidency, at the next election, then four years distant in time. After a heated discussion, and an arduous canvass, the friends of Mr. Lowndes prevailed at this caucus by a majority of not more than one or two votes: but it was universally understood that the pretensions of Mr. Calhoun, then under forty years of age, were second only to those of Mr. Lowndes, and that one or the other of them must, beyond all question, be the next President of the United States. The Legislature of South Carolina, therefore, in 1821, nominated, four years in advance, Mr. William Lowndes for President of the United States in 1825; and when, with plain common sense, he answered that the Presidency was a station neither to be solicited nor refused, it was sounded and resounded with trumpet tongue, as a prodigious exemplification of disinterestedness and patriotic self-devotion.

Mr. Calhoun and his friends, however, were not satisfied with this nomination, and just at the close of the same year, 1821, a Congressional counter-nomination of him was projected at Washington, but, after deliberate consideration, postponed as premature. Mr. Lowndes shortly afterwards died, and the Legislature of South Carolina, always alert in the purpose of furnishing a President for the United States, delayed not formally to nominate Mr. Calhoun. This nomination was, indeed, not more successful than that of Mr. Lowndes, but it gave way only for a third native of South Carolina, for whom a pledged ticket of electors was chosen by the Legislature of that State in November, 1824, who accordingly voted for Gen. Jackson as President, and Mr. Calhoun as Vice President, of the United States.

The election of Mr. CALHOUN as Vice President then succeeded, and, by a coalition of the Carolina party, under his auspices, with another Southern, or the old Virginia party, till then his most bitter opponents, marching under the lead of Mr. Wm. H. Crawford, at the election of December, 1828 they seemed to have attained the summit of their ambition by placing natives of South Carolina in both the offices of President and Vice President, with the distinct understanding that the succession to the highest station was to be, after four, or at most, after eight years, in the same line.

But now came the fable of the milkmaid's pail. Not one year of General JACKSON's administration had passed away, before Mr. CALHOUN found himself involved in a personal controversy with the heroic chieftain, for having, some twelve years before, been much inclined to punish him by a military tribunal, for his exploits in the Seminole war. The General had just made the *discovery* by the timely advices of some of Mr. CALHOUN's old adversaries, but recent associates in the achievment of raising the two South Carolinians to the two highest dignities of the Union. An explanation and a rupture ensued. The Vice Presidency was no longer in the line of succession. Mr. Calhoun resigned the office, and came back a Senator from South Carolina, not only an anti-tariffite and strict constructionist, but a nullifier, by South Carolina supremacy of the laws of the Union; a *Whig*, armed at all points against Executive power and patronage, and a compromiser between the American system and the separate sovereignty of South Carolina.

In the mean time, the operation of slavery upon the politics of this Union was assuming a new aspect. Denmark Vesey's projected mutiny of a few slaves at Charleston had some years before been smothered in blood. The Southampton insurrection in Virginia, while illustrating the happy state of the condition of the slaves in the South, and their affectionate gratitude for the kind treatment of their masters, left upon the latter a deep impression of terror at the dangers always impending over their heads. The debates in the Virginia Legislature upon the proposition of Mr. THOS. JEFFERSON RANDOLPH for the gradual abolition of slavery upon the plan recommended by his grandfather, in the memoir of his Life, written by himself, were soon followed by the Dissertation upon slavery, by Professor DEW, of William and Mary College, under the form of a review of those debates.

This work forms a new era in the history of the United States, and of North American politics and morals. It is the clearest and most striking illustration of the essential and immedicable nature of slavery ever exhibited. It is worthy of having been devised by the tortured spirits of Milton's Pandemonium. It is the offspring of Despair, bidding defiance to the God of Heaven.

It begins by abjuring the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and with them the elementary truths of the Christian dispensation—the natural equality of mankind. It maintains that the African is a different and inferior race to the white European, and born and destined by nature to live in subjection under him. You will perceive that this position, laid as the basis of an argument to sustain the institution of slavery, denies to the colored man the possession of an immortal soul. This must, indeed, necessarily and unavoidably be the foundation of every theory to justify slavery. For if

> "The soul, secure in its existence, smiles
> At the drawn-dagger, and defies its point,"

the soul of one man can never be made the property of another. It is the soul that constitutes the man; and, by the laws of nature and of nature's God, you cannot make a human being your slave without depriving him of his immortal soul, and degrading him to the level of the grazing ox. The teacher of the new school of William and Mary and his followers tell us that this has been done already; that God—yes, they use the name of God!—has made two varieties of the human race—one to be masters, and the other to be slaves—one to loll down upon and dream of moral philosophy, the other to be beasts of burden to pamper the idle and worthless existence of their masters. I pass over the revolting character of this first principle; its irreconcilable opposition to the principles of Christianity, to do unto others as you would that they should do unto you, its flat contradiction to that express declaration of Divine inspiration, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men;" its reliance upon brutal physical force as the ultimate arbiter of the relation between man and his brother man; I set aside all these considerations, but ask you, fellow-citizens, for one moment to reflect deeply—deeply to reflect upon the impending consequences of this new theory upon this Union, and upon the free institutions of that portion of it yet in the enjoyment of freedom.

In the Declaration of Independence, the natural equality of mankind, and the natural rights of man are declared to be self-evident truths; and from these truths are inferred, as equally self-evident, that Governments are instituted among men to *secure* these rights; that Governments derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute another government to secure the same ends in its stead.

Let us waive the question now whether these principles are true or false, whether they are self-evident or controvertible. The signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the People in whose name and by whose authority they spoke, *held them* to be self-evident. So they declare, with an appeal to the Supreme Ruler for their sincerity; and it is upon the basis of these principles, and of them alone, that they declare the People of the thirteen Colonies absolved from their allegiance to the British Crown, released from their duties as subjects of the British Empire, and constituting one people of thirteen united, free and independent States.

Upon these principles their Union had been formed, and was by them declared perpetual. Upon these principles the Constitution of the United States and those of all the separate States have been professedly founded. They have been considered as the immovable and eternal foundation of all our political institutions, and we have gloried in them as first introduced under our auspices to the admiration and emulation of the world of man. We have all known that there was another theory of human government, founded upon the supposed unlimited and illimitable nature of constituted power—that the issue of the seven years' war of our independence was precisely the conflict between these two theories of government, the theory of human rights and the theory of constituted power—that the cause of Great Britain in that war was staked upon the theory of *power*, and our cause upon the theory of *right*. And when our fathers were tauntingly asked how they could, for seven long years, endure the unutterable miseries of their country under the devastations of a combined civil, foreign and savage war, for a three-penny tax upon tea, they answered, as their Congress, after the close of the contest, on the 34th of April, 1783, had reminded them, "*Let it be remembered, that it has ever been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature.*"

The rights of human nature! Such was the doctrine of 1776, and such the doctrine of 1783; but now, ask President Dew what are the rights of human nature, and he will tell you that slavery was the mother of civilization. Ask Chancellor Harper what are the rights of human nature, and he will tell you that man has a natural aversion to labor, and that he will not work unless you make him a slave.

The point of view in which I call your attention to these doctrines is their open and undisguised apostacy from the principles of the Declaration of Independence. By Chancellor Harper they are directly and explicitly attacked with a long argument from the old Tory school, to prove them "false, sophistical, or unmeaning."

In my last letter I showed you that all the authorities now adduced, as precedents of parliamentary practice to sustain the refusal of Congress to read or consider petitions, were from a rule in the House of Commons by which they refused to receive petitions against the stamp act and the tea tax. We have now the British arguments of that day, against the principles of the Declaration of Independence, new vamped and brought forth to prove the lawfulness of slavery. The inference from which is irresistible, that, in the view of the slaveholders themselves, the principles of the Declaration of Independence are as fatal to the institution of slavery, as they were to the tyranny of Great Britain over the Colonies. Now the People of all the primitive Southern States were parties to the Declaration of Independence, to the Revolutionary war, to the Constitution of the United States. Four delegates from the State of South Carolina, and seven from the State of Virginia, pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the principles proclaimed in the Declaration, and to the perpetual union founded on those principles. To renounce those principles is virtually to withdraw from the Union, and it is my deliberate and settled opinion, that upon no other principles can this Union be maintained. You have perhaps not been aware of these palinodial recantations of the principles of our Revolution, and are still less aware how extensively they they are prevailing among the slaveholders of the South, but contemporaneous with them has been the assumption of a new and extraordinary attitude towards the Union itself. It was under the influence of this new slave-bred and slave-breeding creed that the State of South Carolina arrayed herself in armor, formally undertook to nullify a law of Congress, and bade defiance to the Government of the Union. Virginia was not then quite ready to join her, but, with very doubtful constitutional authority, sent an ambassador to negotiate with her, and afterwards assisted in consummating that *compromise*, which by the sacrifice of the American system, and of your interest, gave an equivalent for the retreat from nullification, and the return of South Carolina to the pale of the Union.

The remarkable feature of that compromise was that it was a transaction exclusively confined to the slaveholding portion of the Union, and to the slaveholding representation in Congress. It was concocted between two Senators, one from South Carolina, and the other from Kentucky, both slaveholders, both in violent *opposition* to the Executive Administration, then also headed by a slaveholder, and was adopted by him, and swept through the House of Representatives by a whirlwind, in glaring violation of that article of the Constitution which provides that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in that House. It was strictly a bargain of slaveholders, among themselves, in which the industry and the interest of the free portion of the nation were neither consulted nor considered, but were bound hand and foot, and laid prostrate at the feet of the *peculiar institutions*.

But the ambition of the South Carolina party was not yet satiated. The phantom of abolition was advancing upon them, and swelling to gigantic dimensions as she advanced. The People of Great Britain were piling petition upon petition to Parliament for the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies, and Parliament was gradually and reluctantly yielding to the irresistible flood of the tide. The sympathies of language, of sentiment, of opinion, and especially of freedom, were crossing the Atlantic with every breeze, and spreading over the congenial atmosphere of a soil whence they had been first exhaled. Slavery in the British Colonies was abolished by the reformed Parliament of an European Monarchy—abolished upon the very principles of our own Declaration of Independence—abolished, because irrefragably, irreconcilably contrary to the actual rights of mankind.

What could the slaveholder do with his own chalice returned to his own lips? He started back in horror from the draught, and turning round called with imploring voice upon Sepulveda, and Hobbes, and Sir Robert Filmer, and Dr. Johnson, and Soame Jenyns, for a doctrine of despotism—for a sneer upon the self-evident truth that all men are born free and equal—for a cavil upon the averment that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are among their inalienable rights—for a ludicrous distortion of the learned Doctor's parallel between free men and fat oxen—for a physiological treatise to prove "that the negro race, from their temperament and capacity, are peculiarly suited to be slaves, and to be the happiest of men in that condition:" for proofs from Holy Writ that negroes are of the accursed race of Ham, doomed to be slaves to the end of time; that Abraham had slaves, and that Joseph himself was a slave-holder under the old covenant, and Onesimus a slave under the new—just as Sepulveda conclusively argued against Las Casas, that the Spaniards had an unquestionable right to exterminate the Indians, because God commanded the children of Israel to exterminate the idolatrous nations of Canaan. All this, as Chancellor Harper candidly admits, is sufficiently common-place; but says, he, we are sometimes driven to common-places. Yes, from the Declaration of Independence, you cannot start one step without being driven to common-place; to the common-place of immemorial tyranny: to the common-place divine right of kings; to the common-place logic and morality of the Jesuits; to the common-place thumb-screws and faggot-fires of the holy inquisition. To all this common-place *must* be driven whoever undertakes to justify the institution of slavery by decrying the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

But how far has this counter-revolutionary principle of the South extended—how far is it extending? My countrymen! I wish not to alarm your fears for the continuance of the Union; but you must look at things as they are. I have said that the renunciation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence is a virtual withdrawal from the Union. There can at least be no possible attachment to the Union entertained by those who have renounced those principles—no community of feeling with those who retain and adhere to them. The two sets of principles separate the souls of men wider than the distance of the poles from each other.

I think there can be no question that the *servile* system of principles (by which I understand the doctrines urged by President Dew and Chancellor Harper in opposition to the system of principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence,) pervades the whole State of South Carolina, and forms the bases of the system of policy persued and recommended by the leading men of that State. At the head of them is Mr. John C. Calhoun, with his sanguine temperament his dashing eloquence, his never-doubting confidence in himself, his superficial acquaintance with human nature, and his no acquaintance with human history; with his never-hesitating versality of conduct, and his ludicrously sincere claims to consistency; with the memory of his premature advancement in early youth—of his grasping ambition—of his blasted hopes and his mortifying disappointments. This is precisely the man to acquire, under the effervescences of a Southern sun, that ascendency over the intellect of his contemporaries which confers a Pythagorean authority over his disciples, and settles every question among them by the simple formula of "*He said it.*" And such an ascendency he has acquired, with the exception of a few intelligent men, unable to keep pace with him in the suddenness and rapidity of the of his political pirouettes, but who cannot sustain themselves long in opposition to any of his circumvolutions.

The resistance against the counter-revolutionary system is somewhat greater in Virginia. Her own College of William and Mary may indeed claim the honor of having originated the theory; but she is not altogether pleased with the sound of the bugle-horn from South Carolina to give notice that *she* has assumed the departed sceptre of Judah, and that the lawgiver is coming from between *her* feet. A remnant of reverence for the name and opinions of Thomas Jefferson, with the proud recollection that *he*, her own son was the author of that Declaration, still stands in the way of that recreant spirit which disclaims as "false, sophistical, or unmeaning" its glorious self-evident truths! But these are only expansions of soul—*sentimental maxims*; and there stand the "*tendencies of associated wealth*"—the twelve hundred millions of dollars in human bones, and muscles, and sinews—the three millions of immortal-souled chat tels!—and which of the scales of the balance, think you, will kick the beam?

I would do no injustice to the ancient and honorable Commonwealth of Virginia. I know there are still within her, noble spirits firmly believing that slavery is an evil, and hoping, faintly hoping, that it will one day be banished from within her borders. We have seen in the conduct of *her* representative at the Court of London that she feels it as a keen and bitter reproach to be told that she has sunk into a breeder of slaves for sale; that she gladly would, if she could, deny it to be true. But, from the expedients to which he resorted for the vindication of his own honor and hers; from her terror at the very sound of the word abolition, from the tenacity with which she now clings to Southern principles, though encumbered with a Northern man, there is too much reason to apprehend that she too will abjure the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and cast off her allegiance to the natural and inalienable rights of man.

When this revolution of sentiment shall have been completed, ween the whole South shall have been weaned from the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence, and reconverted to the faith that slavery is not only conformable to, but sanctioned by, the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, then will be the time for separation from the fanatics of the North and for the organization of a Southern Confederacy, founded upon the principles of perpetual and irredeemable slavery, and for the annexation of Texas, and of as much as can be conquered of Mexico to the same.

That this is and has for years been the policy of the South Carolina party, cannot admit of a doubt. And to the purposes of this party, nothing would so effectively administer as the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, *if it could be now effected.*

Now, earnestly as I desire that abolition, as soon as it can possibly be effected with justice to the inhabitants of the Distiriet, and with safety to the peace and preservation of the Union, I am not prepared to stake my responsibility as a Representative of the People upon a measure which, for the immediate emancipation of five or six thousand slaves out of three millions, would, as I believe it would, immediately hazard both. The whole south and Southwest, not only in Congress, but in the nation, are united against it. Nothing less than the union of the whole North and Northwest, both in and out of Congress, could possibly accomplish it even in Congress. The President has given pledges in advance, both before and since his election, that he would interpose his veto against such a bill should it ever be carried by majorities in both Houses of Congress. To expect that majorities of two-thirds of both Houses now, or for many years to come, would vote for this measure against the Presidential negative, would be nothing short of insanity. What, then, is the meaning of that *immediate* abolition which the American Anti-Slavery Society has made the test of orthodoxy to their political church? A moral and physical impossibility!

I am not aware that any one of the petitions which were committed by you to my charge required the *immediate* abolition of slavery in the District or the Territories; but in the recent report of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, I observe that the friends of free institutions are congratulated that the doctrine of immediate emancipation is now established on a basis from which it cannot be dislodged, either by the malice of its enemies, or the unfaithfulness of its friends. They consider the keystone of this divine argument as placed in its eternal home by the parliamentary liberation of the slaves in the British Colonies.

But if the example of British parliamentary emancipation is to be considered as having solved this question upon a divine foundation, you will please to observe that an essential part of the payment of it is one hundred millions of dollars to the owners of those emancipated slaves by way of indemnity for the loss of their property, as it had been held to be under the preceding laws, and as it is held to be by the laws of our slaveholding States. This parliamentary emancipation was evidently a compromise, in my estimation, an honest and honorable compromise; but whatever of divine the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society perceive in the immediate emancipation of the British Colonial slaves, I do not understand them as considering the payment of the twenty millions of pounds sterling to indemnify the owners of the slaves as partaking any share of that divine authority.

If I understand correctly the sentiments of the Executive Committee of the American AntiSlavery Society, they approve and applaud the parliamentary process so far as it extends to emancipation; but reject, not without indignation, that part of the British precedent which grants, at the expense of the nation, an equivalent to the dispossessed proprietor.

For myself, fellow citizens, I freely confess that, believing as I do, that freedom is a natural and inalienable right of man, and that, by the laws of Nature and of Nature's God, an immortal soul cannot be made a chattel, I am yet disinclined to make of these opinions articles of a religious creed with the pretensions to impose it upon others. If asked whether I consider it a sin to hold a fellow creature in bondage for life, I might answer that it would be so in me; but I am not commissioned to denounce the judgement of God upon those who differ from me in religious belief, whether upon the slavery question or upon any other. I have heard from my Master the injunction, "Judge not, that ye be not judged," and from more than one of his Apostles the question, who art thou that judgest another man's servant, or another? The days of denouncing prophecy are past; and when I see that slavery has been permitted by Almighty God to exist from the earliest periods of history, sacred or profane, down to the present day, though I look forward with earnest hope and intense desire to the day when it will be banished from my country and from the world, I have no vocation to the exercise of force or constraint or injustice, even for the liberation of the slave.

If the abolition of slavery is effected in this country, it must be either by force, that is, by a civil and servile war, or by the consent of the owners of slaves. All the abolitionists and all the anti-slavery societies totally disclaim all intention or purpose to employ or to sanction the employment of force, and complain with reason, that the imputation of any such design to them is a slander. Immediate emancipation, therefore, is in their purpose to be effected, with the consent of the masters, and without indemnity to them. In what page of the volume of human nature they found the receipt for this balsam to the sore of slavery, or in what cell in the imagination it was devised, I KNOW not. FRANKLIN, it is said, made the discovery that an effusion of oil will smooth the mountain waves of a stormy sea; but no philosopher has yet appeared to make the experiment of pouring it into the summit of a smoking crater to extinguish the volcano within.

With the most sincere belief in the integrity of your intentions and with reverence for the benevolence and purity of your purposes, let me ask those of you, my friends, who believe the immediate emancipation of the slaves of this country, with the consent of their masters, without indemnity, and without the use of force, a practicable thing, whether the success of your moral suasion upon the minds of the slaveholders hitherto has been encouraging to your hopes or expectations of ultimately prevailing upon them to give up at once their opinions and their property? Have you converted many to the true faith of immediate emancipation without indemnity? Is the temper with which your arguments are received; nay, is the temper with which they are urged, of that character which conciliates acquiescence and ripens hesitancy into conviction? With what feelings are your hearts impressed towards the slaveholder? "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" You appeal, with exultation, to what you consider, perhaps prematurely, the successful result of the immediate emancipation of slaves in the Britsih Colonies; and yet you "cavil the conditions:" you reject all idea of indemnity to the man-stealer, as you style him, at the very time when you are petitioning his representative to liberate his slaves. If one hundred millions of dollars have been cheerfully, magnanimously paid by the People of Britain for the liberation of 800,000 slaves, four times that sum at least would be required of the People of this Union to liberate the slaves held in bondage here, at the same rate of indemnity. But, at the present market price of slaves, that would not amount to one-third part of indemnity for the value lost. And how was the emancipation of slaves in the British Colonies accomplished? By act of Parliament—an assembly in which the colonists had no representation. In direct contradiction to the principle upon which our Revolution was founded. If the question had been submitted to the decision of the Legislative Assemblies of the Colonies themselves, do you imagine that any such emancipation would have been effected, even for twice or thrice the amount of the indemnity allowed by Parliament?

One of the petitions transmitted to me at the late session of Congress, to be presented to the House of Representatives, signed by John Jay and 43 citizens of New York, prayed that congress would propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, for the refusal to admit any new slave States into the Union. The petition did not specify the mode of amendment desired, but I have long been of opinion that if the object is ever to be attained peaceably and with the consent of the slaveholders, of which I have but a faint hope, it must be by that process, and never will be accomplished by any other; and I took the occasion, when asking leave of the House to present the petition, to include in the request the permission also to present three resolutions of amendment to the Constitution: 1. Providing that after a given day all children born within the United States should be born free. 2. That, with the exception of Florida, no State, the Constitution of which would sanction the institution of slavery, should ever be admitted into the Union; and, 3. That after a given day there should be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless in punishment for crime, at the Seat of Government of the Union. The House refused me the permission to present either the petition or the resolutions. The petition was afterwards admitted, with many hundreds more, to the Clerk's table, by general order of the House of the 18th of February, but the resolutions were never received; and, if they had been, must have been laid on the table by the gag resolution of the 12th of December, 1838.

I have not been surprised to find in the Emancipator a notice that my resolutions were not satisfactory to the petitioners, at whose suggestion I had prepared them for presentation. They are in no wise and not in the remotest degree responsible for them. I had no expectation that my resolutions would be received by the House. I knew they would not be discussed. I presented them rather to the petitioners, as comprising the only mode in which I believe the abolition of slavery could possibly be effected without violence and without injustice.

I lament the temper mutually rankling between the slaveholders and the abolitionists, and am convinced that, as long as it shall exist, the abolition of slavery in this Union, or even in the District of Columbia, is as far beyond the regions of possibility as any project of the philosophers of Laputa.—The multiplication of Anti-Slavery Societies within the last three years has appeared to me rather to weaken than to promote their cause, or at least their prospect of immediate or early succes.—With the increase of the numbers, new and collateral questions, always controvertible and perplexing, like parasite suckers from the main stem of the tree, have sprung up to divide their counsels and introduce dissention among themselves. The captious disputations of moral and political casuistry, about non-resistance, defensive war, the rights of woman, political action, no Government, the social condition of the colored race, the encouragement given to the slaves to escape from their masters, and exaggerated representations of the miseries of their condition, have eminently concurred not only to counteract their influence upon the main object of their association, but to make them unpopular and even odious, not only in the South, but in all parts of the Union. Their annoyance of candidates for popular election, by putting searching questions to them as tests, importing at once a promise and a threat, has not propitiated to them the good-will of any party, and has made them obnoxious to all. The purity of the principle of these formal interrogatories, for answers to be followed by suffrages, is very questionable, with reference to the freedom of elections. The expedient itself has seldom if ever been successful to accomplish its object. It has in almost every instance disclosed the weakness of the abolitionists as a party, distinct from the great political competitors for the favor and the power of the people.

My objections to the immediate abolition of slavery in the Territory of Florida are the same with those which I have here set forth against the same measure in the District of Columbia, with the addition that the conditions upon which the Territory was ceded to the United States by Spain formally stipulate for its admission into the Union on the same terms as are secured to the primitive citizens of the United States. To impose a new condition now upon the inhabitants, as a *sine qua non*, of admission to the Uhion as a state, would be, in my judgment, a breach of faith. I voted against the admission of the state of Arkansas, because her Constitution expressly denied to her Legislature the power of emancipating slaves. Should the Constitution of Florida contain the same provision, I should vote in the same manner; but the faith of the nation is already pledged to the admission of Florida on the same terms upon which otber Southern states have been admitted; and we have no right now to require more of her than has been required of them.

The petitions against the admission of any state hereafter, the Constitution of which shall tolerate slavery, were not susceptible of an affirmative answer. A negative resolution to that effect would have no binding force, even if adopted by both Houses of Congress; for they cannot circumscribe the powers of their successors. But, with the exception of Florida, I never would consent to the admission of any new slave State.

I have now fully and freely exposed to you, fellow-citizens, my views with regard to the multitude of petitions which you have committed to my charge. The opinion of the civilized world has been for ages maturing into a settled conviction that slavery, in any of its forms, is a sin and a reproach to any People. More than three thousand years ago the debasement of human character, by its operation upon the slave himself, was noticed by the greatest of the Poets, who says, that the day which makes man a slave takes away half his worth. Its degrading and corrupting influence upon the heart and mind of the master is not less philosophically true. The new theory which attempts to convert slavery into a blessing, and slave holding into a virtue, is, in my deliberate judgment, a more lamentable debasement of the human soul than the mere endurance of servitude can effect. It places the animal man below the level of the brute creation. It surrenders his soul to the dominion of his vilest passions, belies the Divine revelation of a God of mercy, and insults the throne of Omnipotence. It reduces the natural relations between man and man exclusively to the standard of physical force, and makes tyranny and oppression, inflicted by the strong, and suffered by the weak, to comprise the whole duty of man.

This system bears the same relation to that of the Declaration of Independence as idol worship to the worship of the true God. The substitution of its creed for that of the natural rights of man would bring him back to the alternative of the worship of Moloch and Mammon,

"And devils to adore for deities."

Should this system become the prevailing doctrine of the South, it is impossible that this Union should long continue. As its avowed basis rests exclusively upon physical force, to physical force it will resort, not only to sustain its own institutions, but to encroach upon the institutions of freedom elsewhere. This disposition is already manifested in many ways: in the brutal treatment experienced by citizens of the free States, if but suspected of favoring abolition in the slaveholding jurisdictions—in the insolent demands upon the free States to deliver up their citizens for alleged offences against the slave laws—in the conspiring of American slaveholders in a foreign land against the life of one of the great champions of human liberty—in the ruffian threats of assassination, addressed to members of Congress for daring to present your petitions—in the surrender of the post office to lynching law—in the murder of Lovejoy—in the burning of the Pennsylvania Hall—in Southern commercial conventions to force the natural channels of trade from North to South—in Southern railways and banking companies combined to link the Mammon of the West with the Moloch of the South, and in the strains of commendation upon the land-robbing practices of the Anglo Saxons, and their virtuous abhorrence of custom-houses, embellished by their black-leg reverence and punctuality for their debts of honor.

Fellow-citizens, when I witness scenes like these transacted in the face of day; when I hear principles like these issuing from the professor's chair, from the chancellor's bench, from the diplomatic saloon, and from the land-jobber's gaming and dinner table, all in frightful harmony with one another, I hang my head in despondency at the prospects of the rights of man, for the short remnant of my days throughout the Union, and even in the District of Columbia. Yet do I not despair for the cause of human freedom. I believe the cause which its votaries are now called to defend, and which they may yet hope to defend and to vindicate, is that of our free institutions against the daring encroachments of slavery upon them. It is for them that you will have ultimately to stand to your arms; and it is for them that I would gladly now see you buckle on your armor. I desire not to interfere with the institutions of slavery where they are established—I would not abolish slavery without a due regard to indemnify the slave holder for his loss, and, to avoid the necessity for that, would begin the process with a generation yet unborn. I adhere faithfully to the stipulations of the Constitution of the United States, which I have pledged my faith before God to support; and I can lend my hand to no project for the abolition of slavery in these United States without the consent of their masters.

That the day will come when slavery shall be extinguished not only in the District of Columbia, but throughout our country, and throughout the world, I believe,, because it has been explicitly promised in the holy Scriptures, and because the progress towards that improvement in the condition of man upon earth is clearly indicated by the whole tenor of human history. But that the day is yet far distant I am not permitted to doubt; and that in our own country it will be preceded by convulsions and revolutions in the moral, political, and physical world, from which I turn away my eyes to more cheering contemplations, appears to be too probable. That you may enjoy in peace all the rights that you possess, and be speedily restored to those of which you have recently been deprived, is the hope and prayer, and shall continue to be the earnest endeavor of your friend and fellow-citizen,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI:
Tuesday Morning, June 18, 1839.

PROGRESS OF DEPRAVITY.

By the following, it will be seen that some of our Southern neighbors seem disposed to insist, either on the repeal the United States' law against the slave-trade, or the annexation of Texas. How long will the citizens of the free states shut their eyes to the gross depravity, which is rapidly eating out virtue and humanity in the South? Our Northern papers copy the remarks of the New Orleans Courier with scarcely a note of comment. Few of them express the slightest emotion, at this most foul and horrible calculation of benefits to be derived from the re-establishment of the African slave-trade.

The New York Express, it will be seen, styles the remarks of the Courier, "interesting comments!"

"Slavery.

"*The Slave Trade Between Cuba and Texas.*—A report in circulation in Louisiana that Texas was receiving Slaves from Africa, via Cuba, has created some feeling among the planters of Louisiana. The complaint is, that if the fertile lands of Texas can be cultivated by slaves purchased for less than five hundred dollars, the planters will in time be enabled to ruin those here who have paid one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars for a field hand. The New Orleans Courier makes the following interesting comments upon the subject."—*N. Y. Express.*

"It is now well known to those who have taken the trouble to inquire into the matter, that the slave-trade from Africa is more extensive than ever it was. One of the most violent opponents of the trade, a member of the British parliament, by the name of Buxton, has recently published a work upon the subject, in London. In this work, Mr. Buxton gives it as his opinion that the African trade has derived strength from the very attempts made by the English government to suppress it. He says, and produces facts in support of what he says, that the millions of money spent on the English cruisers, and the thousands of valuable lives which have been sacrificed in them to the climate, during the last thirty-two years, have only tended to make the trade more demoralizing and cruel in its tendencies, without at all diminishing the number of slaves carried from Africa to America.

"If such have been the results projuced by the injudicious efforts of the English philanthropists, we may well doubt the policy of the law of Congress, which has prohibited the importation of slaves from Africa—a policy that by all we can learn has no other effect than to cause the planters of Louisiana to pay to the Virginia slaver one thousand dollars for a negro, which now in Cuba, and by and by in Texas, may be bought for half the money.

"It is known to those acquainted with the character of the African that he is more patient and less unruly than the Virginia or Maryland negro—his very ignorance of many things makes him less dangerous in a community like ours, and his constitution is better suited to our climate. In transporting him from his own country, his position too in civilization is bettered, not worsted.

"The more we examine and reflect on the policy the Texians are likely to pursue in this matter openly or covertly, the more we are convinced that Texas should be annexed to the Union, or else Congress should repeal the law prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa. Otherwise, the culture of sugar and cotton in Louisiana will suffer greatly by the cheaper labor which planters of Cuba and Texas can and will employ."

"The Vision and other Poems,"—*By John Boyd, a man of color.* Our acknowledgments are due to H. W. Davidson, N. Y. city, for a copy of these poems.

Slave-Trade in Africa.—"The slave market (at Kano) is held in two long sheds, one for males, the other for females, where they are seated in rows, and carefully decked out for the exhibition; the owner, or one of his trusty slaves, sitting near them. Young or old, plump or withered, beautiful or ugly, are sold without distinction; but, in other respects, the buyer inspects them with the utmost attention, and somewhat in the same manner as a volunteer seaman is examined by a surgeon, on entering the navy: he looks at the tongue, teeth, eyes, and limbs, and endeavors to detect rupture by a forced cough."—*Capt. Clapperton.*

We should like to know in what respects this differs from slave-buying in the South.

The Western Messenger—is now published in Cincinnati, instead of Louisville. Editors, J. F. Clarke, W. H. Channing, J. H. Perkins. It is printed in neat style, and, as might be inferred from the names of its conductors, very ably edited. A late number contained a long extract from Dr. Channing's Letter, on Henry Clay's speech.

Colonization Herald.—The last number of the Herald contains Flood's servile resolutions. They are published without comment. Doubtless the editor understands the taste of his readers. We would advise him next to publish the Black Bill of Ohio. It might prove a rich treat to his subscribers.

Strong Language.—The editor of the Christian Statesman is a great master of language. He calls slavery "a curse to the white," and "*a regret* to the black man."

Literature.—The Colonization Herald, before it took the consumption, had a long article on the dearth of literature among Abolitionists. The editor seemed to think that they were committing as much violence on the belles lettres, as good morals. We hand over to his censorship, a colonization brother of his, in the West.

"We are familiar with no enterprise," says the editor of the Western Colonizationist, "that is so rapidly increasing in popularity; and there is no subject now before the American public, or at least the thinking part of them, that appears so deeply interesting, as that of African Colonization. We have long since gave it as our opinion that this cause was destined to become a prominent feature in the policy of this nation; and every day seems but to increase our confidence."

We have long since *gave* it as our opinion, that the seers of modern times see very little beyond their noses.

An Appeal.—We commend the following from the National Reformer, edited by a colored man, to the Western Colonizationist.

"We have appealed again and again, from the decision of the friends of African Colonization, and they have not hearkened. We have protested, times without number, in private and public, and in our primary assemblies, and they have been deaf to our remonstrance. We now address you once more, and make known to you that our purposes are fixed,—that our determinations that were formed from the beginning are strengthened by time, and will remain unalterable. It is this, that 'come what may to our persons,' we feel bound under a solemn sense of duty to our God,—to ourselves, and to our suffering brethren in bonds to abide the issue, in our native land. We know you promise to banish us only 'with our consent.' We, therefore, feel bound to inform you, that that 'consent' cannot be obtained. In soliciting our 'consent' you ask for the sacrifice of a boon that ought never to be granted. It is no less than the sacrifice of our natural, national, and endearing attachments,—the sacrifice of a whole people on the altar of a hateful and 'doubtful policy,' to gratify your own ambition; and administer a balm to your sinful and inveterate prejudices. Therefore, whatever we may have to bestow, shall be given with grateful hearts, a free oblation on the *altar of patriotism*, for our countsy's good, the nation's honor, and the people's welfare. We kindly beseech you once more, if you love the spirit of liberty, and the free enjoyment of opinion for yourselves, leave us, *free*, to the possession of the same inestimable blessing."

There's a deal of manliness about this; isn't there, neighbor? We have thought sometimes, that the National Reformer was as good at least as the Western Colonizationist.

"The Old Residenter," who wrote from near Liberty, Union co., Ia., informing us of a late attempt by slaveholders to hire an informer and slave-catcher in that region, will please send us his name. We do not feel at liberty to publish statements of facts, or charges against any, without knowing the author of them. We hope "Old Residenter," will furnish his name speedily, for the account he has furnished us should be made public.

Politick.—Mr. Andrews, representative from Lorain county in the last legislature, has addressed a letter to the Executive Committee of the Oberlin Anti-Slavery Society, resporting his remarks, in relation to one of the motions made during the late session to reject petitions from colored people. It seems that he opposed the motion: This is all well enough, but our friends will not forget that William Andrews voted for the infamous Black Law. We doubt not, that other politicians of the same class may yet find it convenient to do something to propitiate the outraged spirit of humanity. Abolitionists should be merciful and forbearing, but we hope they will not suffer themselves to be bamboozled.

Portage County.—It will be recollected, that some of our friends in Portage county took offence at what they supposed to be the unfair and insidious course of the Philanthropist, at the last elections. Quite recently, we have received a private letter from one of the most influential of this class, stating that they had labored under misapprehension with regard to the course of our paper, but that now all distrust and dissatisfaction had been removed by more correct intelligence. The same gentleman informs us, that a new impulse has been given to Abolition in that county, and Abolitionists there are about acting more vigorously than ever.

Extract of a Letter from a Slaveholder.—We give the following extract from a letter, just received from a gentleman in a slave-state. It is truly encouraging to see the really *free* men of the South, thus rallying against the spirit of oppression, and demanding light.

"*Dear Sir,*—I have recently studied, and that too, much on the subject of slavery, and feel disposed to investigate the matter more. Our preachers here contend that it is no sin, but you know custom is all with some people. Slavery is odious with me; if I could rid myself of it without injuring my friends and neighbors, as they contend with some reason that negroes set free are worse than slaves here. I wish you to send me your paper. * * * * I do not know the principles of Abolitionism; I have been taught to hate it; and it would not be safe for me in my neighborhood, if it were known that I professed such principles."

He also requests us to send him any publications that would be of benefit to him on the subject.

We trust that this candid inquirer after truth will soon perceive, that so far from Abolitionism being a hateful thing, it is nothing more or less than the application to the great moral evil of slavery, of the same principles and measures, which the Christian world is accustomed to apply to other sins.

One item in this letter we call attention to,—"Our *preachers* here," he says, "contend that slavery is no sin." And yet the preaching of the gospel is to abolish slavery! So it will, but not the preaching of such preachers. Rev. Mr. Royall of Virginia, in the late New School General Assembly, said, "I hold that the faithful preaching of the gospel will remove from the earth, slavery and every other evil." Just before, he had assured them that he himself was a slaveholder, and expected to continue such so long as he remained in Virginia!!

"The Good Samaritan Reliever."—A new title, but happily chosen. The Pennsville, (Morgan co.) Colonization Society, at a meeting held May 11th, passed a resolution, the first clause of which reads as follows.

"*Resolved*, That Colonization is to American servitude, the Good Samaritan believer."

Right for once! Abolitionists would pass such a resolution by acclamation. Colonization *is* the "Good Samaritan believer" of American *Slavery.* We all know what the Good Samaritan did. He had compassion on the wounded man, "and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him."

Old Times.—A friend lately handed us a pamphlet, published in 1795, containing the "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Second Convention of Delegates from the Abolition Societies," of several of the United States, assembled at Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1795. The delegates were chiefly from Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland. The Minutes are deeply interesting. Various measures were adopted by the convention to elevate the condition of the free colored population; and one order was taken which if taken by Abolitionists of these times, would excite no little surprise. Memorials to the legislatures of Georgia and South Carolina, were adopted, on the subject of the abolition of slavery. Record is also made in the Minutes, that memorials on the same subject had been sent to the legislatures of Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. The entire proceedings are so deeply interesting, that we shall endeavor soon to find a place for them in the Philanthropist.

Colonization, Slavery and Mobocracy, have a wonderful affinity for each other. The Christian Statesman, Colonization Herald and Western Colonizationist are careful in gathering up and recording accounts of pro-slavery, and anti-abolition mob-meetings throughout the country. They all have published the report of what Mr. Hammond appropriately termed the "abhorring meeting" in Cincinnati. Need these editors be told, that Mr. Gurley and his more respectable friends were ashamed of this meeting? They had now better give an account of the Zanesville mob against Abolitionists, as an indication of a reviving healthful sentiment in Ohio.

Progress?—The African Repository, alluding to Ohio, says—

"That powerful and growing member of the confederacy has long been conspicuous for zeal and efficiency in behalf of African Colonization: in no other state are more prominent citizens" (*names—names*, he should have said,) "enlisted in its support; in no other state has the soundness of public opinion on the subject been more clearly shown, in the formation of auxiliary societies, or in pecuniary contributions. But, of late years, the hostility of Abolitionists has been exerted with singular perseverance and violence in Ohio, and their efforts have doubtless prevailed to impede, to a certain extent, the progress of Colonization, and to diffuse doubts, suspicions, and sometimes prejudices throughout the community, in regard to its principles, aims and tendencies. In disabusing the public mind of these errors, the visit of the Secretary has been eminently successful," &c.

To us, who are on the spot, this picture is amusing. "Prominent citizens?" How many gentlemen, elected vice-presidents of the state society, know of their election? Where is the state society, where its executive? It has not breathed, we think, since the immortal Flood, galvanized it into spasmodic life.

A New Champion in the Field.—Dr. McDowell, Professor of Anatomy in the Cincinnati Medical College, seems determined to divide the glory of defending slavery, with the Dews and Harpers of the South. We understand he has lately in a public lecture, attempted, from the *structure, size,* &c. of the African *head,* to demonstrate that the colored man was destined to be a slave. If there be any truth in such notions, the Doctor ought by all means to congratulate himself, on having lived so long, a *free* man.

RESOLUTIONS,

Passed at the Fourth Anniversary of the O
State Anti-Slavery Society.

A.—FIRST SERIES.

Resolved, That, while we rejoice at the no protests of the legislatures of Vermont and Ma sachusetts, and of the H. of Representatives New York, against the attempts in Congress abridge the right of petition, we feel deeply abased that the General Assembly of Ohio, promp echoed the servile doctrines contained in the A ton resolutions, by passing a series of resolutions as false, as they were abject and derogatory to the honor of the state.

Resolved, That the resolution passed by house of representatives of Ohio at its last session which denies to the colored population of state, the right of petition, is a refinement on despotism itself, and an exhibition of such preju against color, as can be cherished only by m habitually malignant, and essentially vulgar cruel.

Resolved, That the passage during the last session of our legislature, of the Bill relating to fug tives from labor, at the dictation of the slaveholders of Kentucky, has degraded the free state Ohio in the estimation of her sister states; an that the Bill itself, denies the right of trial by jury converts the ministerial officers of the Ohio courts of justice into the ignominious tools of slaveholders; invites the most flagrant aggressions on pe sonal rights by securing the aggressor against lia bility of punishment; tends to place the people Ohio in the position of open supporters of the practice of slaveholding; is an outrage on the co stitution of the state; an inhuman attempt to fetter the most generous sympathies of the human hear and a palpable violation of the law of God.

Resolved, That those men, who advocated, or voted for, the passage of said bill, have given i the servility of their conduct, evidence of the fac that no office of trust, power or profit, in the gif of the people of Ohio, would be safe in their hands.

Resolved, That the dictation of the slavehol ing power in relation to the last election in this state, for senator to Congress, is additional evidence that nothing but the absolute control of the government of the country will satisfy the slaveholder; and shows conclusively the low estimate placed on the self-respect and love of independence of the people of Ohio. Such dictation ought to have been repelled with the deepest indignation by a state, jealous of its honor and watchful against encroachments on its liberties.

Resolved, That the indictment, demand, delivery, arrest, abduction, incarceration, and loading with irons, of the Rev. J. B. Mahan, a citizen of Ohio, were disgraceful to Kentucky, insulting and injurious to this state, another demonstration of the aggressive nature of slavery, a fair sample of the ruthless, unprincipled policy necessary to uphold this system, and a most humiliating evidence of the blindness, or stupid indifference of the constituted authorities of Ohio, to gross invasions of the rights of the citizens they are sworn to protect.

Resolved, That, as the Rev. J. B. Mahan, was arrested, and removed from the protection of our laws by virtue of a warrant of the Executive of Ohio, unlawfully granted, whereby he was made unjustly to sustain great pecuniary loss, he ought therefore, being otherwise remediless, to be compensated by an appropriation from the state-treasury.

Resolved, That Ohio owes it to herself, to humanity, to freedom, to the claims of justice, to the God of nations, not only to repeal the servile law passed at the last session of her legislature, but also every law on her statute-book, which discriminates between human beings, on account of their color. Such laws are the offspring of prejudice against the oppressed, and of a sycophantic desire to please the oppressor, and find no warrant in self-interest, or humanity.

Resolved, That color in Ohio can furnish no presumption of slavery,—that it is disregarded in the Constitution of the state, as a basis of personal rights, and therefore we are bound to presume *every* person *within the limits* of the state, *free*, and to treat him as such.

Resolved, That *he* ought to be regarded as infamous, and an enemy to his species, who in a free state, will aid or assist the slaveholder, to any extent or in any way, in the recapture of a human being, whom he claims as his slave.

Resolved, That the noble efforts of B. F. Wade and his few associates, in resisting the passage of the Servile Bill, and in endeavoring to maintain unimpaired the honor and independence of Ohio, entitle them to the highest respect of every citizen of the state.

Resolved, That while we mourn over the disgrace inflicted upon Ohio, by the conduct of an abject legislature, we yet rejoice in the thought, that in the senate chamber of the United States, Abolition has found its first advocate in the person of an Ohio Senator. Let Thomas Morris be remembered with gratitude, as the only man in the United States' Senate, who twice stood forth as the advocate of the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and the defender of human rights, when most fiercely assailed, first by John C. Calhoun, and then by Henry Clay;—and this too in the face of his party, and with the sure prospect of losing his seat.

Resolved, That the citizens of Ohio and the friends of liberty generally, have further reason to rejoice, in the manly and independent stand, taken by the Hon. J. R. Giddings, at the last session of Congress, against the aggressions of the slaveholding power.

B.—SECOND SERIES.

Resolved, That the assertion so often made, that the free states have nothing to do with slavery, or the slave-trade in this country, is untrue and unjust, for it is well known, that the government of this nation has been, and now is, wrested from its original purpose, in being prostituted to the guardianship and nurture of the slave-system, whereas it was intended by its framers to operate for its final extinction.

Resolved, That the free states have an equal interest in the "general welfare," and are equally bound to cherish it; and, as slavery is continually acting injuriously upon it, they are therefore solemnly bound, to resist by all moral and constitutional means the further extension of slavery, whether in principle or form, and by right and proper action on the slave-states, induce them to bring it to an end without delay.

Resolved, That as the slaveholder has procured, if not commanded, the action of Congress, as well as of our own state-legislature, to confirm his power over the slave, additional obligations are laid upon us, as Americans, and as Ohio citizens, to engage in anti-slavery operations.

Resolved, That the proceedings in Congress, during the last session, with regard to petitions and memorials for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the slave-trade, and kindred objects, were invasive of the sovereignty of the free states, and of the constitutional rights of individuals. Any interest of a local character, which thus aspires to use the national legislature as an instrument for dishonoring the states, and outraging rights solemnly secured by the federal constitution, (and such we regard the slave-holding interest,) ought to be restrained, if not put down.

Resolved, That the resolutions introduced by Mr. Atherton into the House of Representatives of the United States, and passed by that body, were a wicked attempt to deprive American citizens, by the action of one house of Congress, of that sacred right, which the constitution declares it shall not be competent for the whole power of Congress to abridge.

Resolved, That we deny the truth of that part of the first of said resolutions, which declares, that Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the subject of slavery in the several states of this confederacy; because it has a right to regulate, or abolish the slave-trade, which is part and parcel of the institution of slavery; and because too, it owes protection to the slave against foreign aggression, and can punish him for treason or other crime against the United States, independently of any slave-state or slave-holder.

Resolved, That the second resolution, in assuming that Congress ought to be influenced by the alleged motives of petitioners, is an impertinent usurpation. No matter what may be the motives of petitioners, they belong to themselves, and the only question for Congress to decide is, whether the object prayed for be constitutional and proper to be granted.

Resolved, That, so far from Congress having no right to do that, which may indirectly affect the institution of slavery, it is both their right and duty, and in accordance with the design of the framers of the constitution, to exercise in a moral way, every power conferred by the constitution, which may indirectly overthrow slavery.

Resolved, That the assertion in the third resolution, that the "disturbing or overthrow" of slavery in the several states is against the true spirit and meaning of the constitution, is a gross libel on that instrument, and a broad and glaring curtailment of the rights of the states; because, if the spirit and meaning of the constitution be, that slavery shall exist in the states, then indeed the states have no power over the subject, and the curse of slavery is entailed upon them, in spite of themselves.

Resolved, That, the resolution by which petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and territories, and the slave-trade, were laid on the table, without being debated, printed, or referred, is an act of high-handed usurpation, and a naked violation of every principle of free government; an act which, if patiently acquiesced in by the people of the free states, will open the way for still more fearful invasions of their liberties.

Resolved, That the system, adopted by the Senate of the United States, of disposing of all petitions relating to slavery, by laying on the table motions to receive them, is a practical denial of the right of petition, and calls for the indignant and unintermitted remonstrances of every American citizen.

Resolved, That the conduct of the same body, in refusing to consider or print the resolutions of the state of Vermont on the same subject, shows that the slave-holding power has no more respect for the sovereignty of states, than the rights of individuals; and ought to be solemnly and sternly rebuked by every legislature in the Union.

The following resolution was here moved by Rev. William Beecher, as proper to be subjoined, to the two immediately preceding.

Resolved, That the contempt with which petitions and memorials on the subject of slavery have been treated by Congress and our own legislature, calls loudly for the indignation of every friend of liberty; and so far from preventing should only stimulate us, to more persevering and decided efforts, to make our sentiments and wishes known, by the most earnest petition, and decided protest, until our legislature listens to the same. Carried.

Resolved, That the refusal of the General Government, to recognize the independence of Hayti; and its persistent, pertinacious endeavors to effect the restoration of cargoes of slaves, wrecked on British islands, or driven by stress of weather into British ports, and liberated by virtue of British laws,—while they demonstrate the hypocrisy of our professions of devotion to liberty and equality, and convict us of loving gain more than consistency, at the same time show beyond all doubt, that the institution of southern slavery is not a sectional, but a national affair.

Resolved, therefore, that slavery, having thus placed itself under the protection of the General Government, and thereby involved the whole Union in one common guilt and disgrace, we not only claim a right to interfere with it by moral means, but also claim, that the Constitution of the United States, if necessary, should be so amended as to enable the national legislature to legislate for its abolition. For it is manifestly absurd, that the power and honor of the whole nation should be called in requisition, to sanction, sustain and protect an institution, over which, it is assumed that it has no jurisdiction.

[This resolution gave rise to considerable discussion. It was opposed, chiefly, because an apprehension prevailed, that it would be misunderstood, and subject us to injurious misrepresentation. It was finally laid on the table, much against our will. It is high time to tell the slaveholders, that, if they will have our aid to uphold slavery, they must share with us the power of controlling it.—Ed. Phil.]

Resolved, That the Honorable Henry Clay, in his late speech on Abolition in the Senate of the United States, so far from occupying the high position of an American statesman, comprehending in his views and solicitudes the interests of the whole country, and founding his opinions and policy on the principles of eternal justice, has prostituted himself to the support of an interest, sectional in character, radically wrong in principle, despotic in demand, violent and reckless in measures, adverse to the highest welfare of the Union, and at war with *Humanity*.

Resolved, That while his grave and inflammatory misrepresentations of the movements, motives and principles of abolitionists, qualify him to assume the championship of the slave-holding interest; the false and dangerous principles, mercenary arguments, rank selfishness, apathy to the wrongs of the oppressed, unblushing sympathy with the oppressor, every where prominent in his speech, and the complacent presumption with which he calculates on the continual blessing of God upon a system of never-ending slavery, added to his own persistance in the accursed practice of slave-holding, disqualify him for any office of honor and influence among a free people.

Resolved, That, since Mr. Van Buren, as President of the Senate, gave his casting vote in favor of Mr. Calhoun's bill to prohibit the free circulation by the mail, of papers favorable to Human Rights—afterward, at his inauguration as President of the United States, pledged himself to veto any bill which might be passed by both Houses of Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, unless same bill should be supported by the slave-holding States—has given no evidence, so far as is known to this meeting, that he is not, up to this time, favorable to the perpetuation of slavery in the South, and that he is not to the full, a 'Northern President with Southern principles'—he is therefore undeserving of support, as a candidate for the first office of this Government.

[A resolution was offered by Wm. Purdy, which was adopted, and ordered to be printed after each one of the two foregoing resolutions. We regret exceedingly that it has been mislaid; but the substance of it was, that the Convention could not countenance any candidate, holding opinions on slavery, like those entertained by Henry Clay or Martin Van Buren.—Ed. Phil.]

Resolved, That while we honor John Quincy Adams for his defence of the right of petition and freedom of debate, for his strenuous opposition to the annexation of Texas, and his bold expressions of determined hostility to the slaveholding system; nevertheless, we disavow all sympathy for any scheme of *gradual* abolition which he may devise, and should be as reluctant, while he holds his present opinions on the question of abolition, to acknowledge him as one of the leaders or representatives of the abolition organization, as he is unwilling to be thought such.

Resolved, That the interest which distinguished men in the United States, not abolitionists, have taken in the discussion of the slavery question, and their efforts to contribute their share to the overthrow of the evil, we duly appreciate; but, at the same time, feel more than ever convinced of the vital importance of adhering to our own principles and mode of action, and of procuring the adhesion thereto of the whole American people.

Resolved, That we have no sympathy with that class of anti-slavery persons, who glow with generous indignation at abridgements of the rights of the free, but look, unmoved, upon the degradation and oppression of the slave.

Resolved, That we are primarily and chiefly opposed to slavery, because it is sin against God, a sin in which by our social, ecclesiastical and political relations we are necessarily involved; because it inflicts incalculable wrong upon nearly three millions of our fellow-countrymen, whom we are religiously bound to love as ourselves; and because it acts as a principle of corruption in church and state all over the country.

Resolved, That we are moreover opposed to slavery, because, it hinders the prosperity of the nation, disgraces its character, divides its councils, tends to disunion and civil war, and jeopards all our rights.

Resolved, That, as the practice of slaveholding is in itself necessarily and unchangeably sinful, we are as much as ever convinced of the duty of its *immediate* abandonment.

Resolved, That the expediency of immediate abolition is no longer a matter to be settled alone by abstract reasoning and reference to principles of duty, but is fully established by the results of emancipation in the West Indies.

C—THIRD SERIES.

1. *Resolved*, That while we have been, and still are, mainly anxious to discuss the moral and religious character, bearings, and tendencies of slavery, and leave to politicians, as far as is consistent with our relations to God and our country, the discussion of its political character, bearings and tendencies, yet, for the following obvious reasons, we feel called upon, as abolitionists and christians, freely to discuss its political character and influence.

a. Religion cannot be separated from politics and government, inasmuch as our conformity or non-conformity to the law of our country, must have a moral and religious character.

b. Since our Legislature has undertaken to legislate upon the subject, and frame laws for the government of our conduct, we are imperatively bound to inquire into the moral character of those laws, and of the course of conduct they prescribe and enjoin.

2. *Resolved*, That for the following obvious reasons, we regard it, as a well settled principle of both common and constitutional law, that no human legislation can annul, or set aside, the law or authority of God.

a. The most able writers on elementary law, have laid it down as a first principle, that whatever is contrary to the law of God, is not law.

b. Where a bond, or other written instrument, or any thing else, is of immoral tendency, Courts of law have refused to recognize them as legal and obligatory.

c. The administration of oaths, or affirmations, in Courts of justice, is a recognition of the existence and supreme authority of God.

d. The Constitution of this State expressly recognizes the axiom, that no human enactment can bind the conscience, or set aside our obligations to God.

e. The grand instrument on which the federal Government is founded, recognizes the same truth—that rights conferred by our Creator as inalienable, can never be cancelled, or set aside, by human enactments.

f. The administration of oaths, or affirmations, in all the departments of the general and state governments, is a recognition of the truth, that God's authority is supreme.

3. *Resolved*, That we do not consider, what are familiarly, and we believe, significantly, termed the Black Laws of Ohio, and especially the one passed last winter, relating to fugitives from labor, as obligatory upon the citizens of this State, inasmuch as its requisitions are a palpable violation of the Constitution of this State, and of the United States, of the common law and of the law of God.

[It will be noticed that the reason alleged why the *Black laws* of Ohio are not obligatory upon us, is because the *law passed last winter* is so and so. The resolution therefore is not a logical one. This alone would be with us a sufficient reason for recording our vote in dissent. Another reason would induce us to this course.—We are not prepared to say that we do not consider any one of the black laws, in any of its provisions, as obligatory upon the citizens of this State. In *so far* as these laws require from me an act, of immoral character, they certainly have no obligatory power over me. That part of the resolution, however, which condemns the Servile Law of last winter, and denies its validity, we can go for, with all our mind and strength.—Ed. Phil.]

4. *Resolved*, That for the reasons assigned in the above resolutions, we should deem obedience especially to the law of last winter, highly immoral.

["Especially" ought to have been omitted.
Ed. Phil.]

5. *Resolved*, That no man, by any promise or oath, or resolution, can make it right, or lawful, for him to do that, which is contrary to the law of God.

5. *Resolved*, That an oath or affirmation, to support any human constitution or government, is obligatory no farther than the principles of that constitution or government are in accordance with the law of God.

7. *Resolved*, That an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of this State and of the United States, is obligatory because, and as far as, these constitutions and laws are consistent with each other, and with the law of God, and no farther.

[This resolution needs explanation. One of the measures and reasons of a man's allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, is, certainly, not the accordance of these with the constitution of his particular State; for the federal constitution and all laws passed in pursuance of it, are the *supreme* law of the land, any thing in the Constitutions or laws of the several States to the contrary notwithstanding. The resolution means simply, that an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution and laws of the United States and the several States, is obligatory, because and as far as, they are consistent with the law of God, and that allegiance to the laws of a State is due, because and far as, the laws are consistent, not only with the law of God, but the Constitution of the particular State, and of the United States.—Ed. Phil.]

8. *Resolved*, That we deem it to be the imperative duty of all the citizens of this State, and of the United States, to inquire into the moral character and bearings of our federal and state Constitutions and laws on the subject of slavery.

9. *Resolved*, That we deem it highly improper, for Christians to decline acting on the subject of slavery and emancipation, on account of the political character and bearings of these questions, because we cannot innocently suffer legal enactments to crush our brother, when the means of prevention are peaceable, and within our power.

☞R. P. Lowe.—Will some of our Dayton friends let us know, whether the Lowe, that introduced the Black Bill last session into the lower House, is the same who laid the corner-stone of the Montgomery county Colonization Society? It is instructive sometimes, to note remarkable coincidences. Floon, author of the servile resolutions, was chief man in bringing the State Colonization Society to life again.

☞Another thing we wish to know from some Dayton friend. Let us have the particulars of the seizure of that colored man in Dayton, who, while on his way back to endless slavery, chose to avoid his cruel fate, by leaping from the third story of a house in Cincinnati, and killing himself. Mr. Lowe was concerned in this transaction.

☞Societies in Indiana.—It is highly desirable to have a correct register of the different anti-slavery Societies in Indiana. The Corresponding Secretary of each Society in that State, or other competent person belonging to it, is earnestly requested to furnish us immediately, with answers to the following questions.

1. *When* was your Society formed, and what is its *name?*

2. *Who* is your *president*, *who* your *corresponding* or *recording secretary*, and *what*, is their *post office address?*

3. *What* is your *present number*, and what has been your *increase?*

Any Society answering these questions, will be entitled to twelve copies of the Annual Report of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, and also to several copies of the report of its recent annual meeting.

Savageism in Brown County.—The poor colored woman, who was shot in the back, some weeks since, by one of a gang of white villains, who attacked the colored settlement in Brown county, has recently died of the wound, and with her, a child, that never saw the light. The perpetrator of the double murder is now going at large, although many individuals know that he committed it. It is doubted, whether any indictment will be found against him, as it is said the prosecuting attorney for the county, will do all he can to prevent it!

An intelligent man from Brown county says, that there is no hope of justice being done there; the law had no power; and every man was thrown upon his own resources for protection. It is no wonder that a community which can supply so many blood-hounds for the use of the slave hunter, is reduced to such a state of savageism.

FUNDS.

More than four thousand dollars are now due us on the Philanthropist. What do our subscribers mean? If they would pay punctually, the paper would support itself. As it is, how do they think it can be supported? There must be punctuality in payment, or we shall be compelled soon, to stop the papers of those who do not pay.—Some may think they are doing us a favor by subscribing. To all such we would say, if you do not think you get the full worth of your money, stop your papers. *We* know that you get *more* in value than you pay for. You do us no favor; *you simply do your duty*, in subscribing. Every abolitionist that can afford to drink *tea* and *coffee*, and eat *butter*, these hard times, *ought* to subscribe for an abolition paper, and *pay for it*.—We do hope our friends will give us no more trouble on this subject. Regularly, week after week, the printer comes with his bill; and it is as regularly discharged, *even* when the *treasury is empty*, as is now the fact. At this very time, just after the Convention has adjourned, when our treasury should be full, it is *five hundred dollars worse* than empty. Is this right? Massachusetts last year gave $16,000 to the anti-slavery cause.—Can't Ohio Abolitionists pay their *subscription* money? Gerrit Smith has just given a donation of $10,000 to the Parent Society. Why, this is almost as much as the thirty thousand abolitionists of Ohio have *given* in three years! It is painful thus to expose the truth, but it is necessary.—*Now*, instead of sending out but two lecturers as it our intention to do, we ought to be able to send a dozen. How long will it take to root out the slavery spirit from Ohio, and fill it with the spirit of liberty, if we do no more in future, than we have done for the last two years? From the want of zeal and liberality among us, one would suppose that with Mr. Adams, we had sunk down in despair, under the belief that slavery was omnipotent.

How many societies, think you, contributed, at our last anniversary? Only thirty, and yet we have some three hundred and fifty in the State!—Can the balance, three hundred and twenty societies, do nothing? We have a proposition to make. Suppose each one of you raise on the spot ten dollars. Can't you do it? This will make three thousand and two hundred dollars, which would support for one year in the field, six good lecturers! O, that our societies were not soulless! Is there a society so poor, that it cannot raise ten dollars?

Brethren, we appeal to you for help. Think of this matter. Talk about it, but do not stop there. ACT, and ACT NOW. Let some good abolitionist, within the bounds of each society, who feels that God and his country are crying aloud to him, to stretch forth his hand to help the down trodden slave, call his brethren together. If he cannot get up a meeting, let him make it his instant business to visit every man, from whom any thing can be expected, and in the name of bleeding humanity and a dishonored country, beseech him to contribute what he can of that which the Lord has given him. Where is the zeal of other days? Has our martyr-age come to an end so soon?

Next week, we shall send William Birney a son of our excellent friend, Jas. G. Birney, into Warren, Montgomery, Greene, Preble, Clark and Miami Counties. Get your contributions ready; and bid him welcome. We trust that he may have the benefit of your sympathies and co-labors. He is commissioned, to extend the circulation of the Philanthropist, collect monies already due on it, obtain pledges, and donations, receive payments on pledges already made, and also to give lectures occasionally.

Other agents we shall soon have in the field, of which timely notice will be given.

A New Organization in Massachusetts.—We notice in the Massachusetts Abolitionist and Emancipator, an account of the formation of a new State Anti-slavery Society in Massachusetts. The reason alleged by its founders for this movement is, that the old society has departed from the principles on which it was originally constituted. In our next, we intend to publish its proceedings.

A. A. Phelps is the Recording, Elizur Wright, the Corresponding, Secretary.

We deeply regret that the Liberator and its friends have opened a warfare upon this society. The New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in session at the time, passed two resolutions against it, in style and spirit, very similar to the anathemas of "Holy Mother Church" in other times,—affirming that "it should be regarded by all genuine and consistent friends of emancipation as a dangerous *movement—hostile to the genius of abolitionism*—and unworthy of the anti-slavery professions, of those who countenance it." The editor pro tem of the Liberator says, "it is predicated upon two distinct and palpable falsehoods," and stigmatizes those engaged in getting it up, as "*disorganizers*." In commenting upon some remarks made by the Rev. Geo. Track in its defence, he further observes,—

"They 'let the cat fairly out of the bag,' and showed that the society had been formed in obedience to the wishes of those rabbies in church and state, who have heretofore stood aloof from the cause—the Priests and Levites, who have so long felt themselves compelled by a regard for their *dignity* to pass by on the other side and leave the slave to perish in his chains? That men of this description regard the new society with satisfaction on account of its hostility to Mr. Garrison and the Liberator, we have no doubt."

All this we regard, as a vulgar attempt to stir up suspicion and prejudice against a society, whose founders stand on a level with the most devoted and able advocates of the anti-slavery cause, and who have acted in this matter from conscientious motives. We feel it to be our duty, to set our face against that intolerant spirit, which can vilify such men as Amos Phelps, Elizur Wright, Orange Scott, and Alanson St. Clair, because they choose to differ with Mr. Wright and co-adjutors. What! are we to be told that these tried friends of the slave, are "*professed* abolitionists," "disorganizers," giving utterance to "falsehoods," acting "in obedience to the wishes" of the most corrupt and heartless, both in church and state! What we particularly regret, however, is, that the colored people of Boston should have been induced to come out in a public meeting, and pass a series of resolutions denouncing men, who have been behind none in all our ranks, in labors and sufferings, in their behalf and that of the slave, and who are yet devoting their best powers for the redemption of the colored man.

There is neither kind feeling nor wisdom in such conduct.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

for the Abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade throughout the World.

We promised in our last to give an account of the formation of this important society. The letter of Mr. Adams prevents us from giving the entire account. Other particulars we shall reserve for another opportunity. We copy from the London Patriot of April 23d.

Slavery and the Slave-Trade.

A meeting, of which we gave a brief notice in our last, convened by circular addressed to the anti-slavery Delegates who assembled in London in 1833, 1837, and 1838, and other friends to the cause, was held in the Minor Room, Exeter-Hall, Strand, on Wednesday, the 17th inst.; at which there were present Dr. Lushington, M P; Sir J E E Wilmot, M P; Sir George Strickland, M P; Edward Turner, M P; also delegates from Dublin, Norwich, Chesham, Witham, Darlington, Birmingham, Bungay, Chelmsford, Southampton, Cambridge, Doncaster, Wallingford, Lutterworth, Rodborough, Derby, Stevenage, Glasgow, Kingston-on-Thames, Ipswich, Staffordshire, Potteries, Hitchin, Hudderfield, Leominster, Woodbridge, Coggeshall, Kendal, Rochester, Bristol, Stourport, Nottinham, &c. &c. Many of the members of the London Anti-Slavery Committee were also present. W T Blair, of Bath, the chairman of the anti-slavery delegates in 1838, would have presided on the occasion, but was prevented from being present by a severe domestic affliction. The chair was taken by Captain, MOOSOM, R N.

The proceedings of the meeting were peculiarly interesting, being preliminary to the formation of the society. On the next day, the delegates convened, and the following proceedings took place.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the world.

Proceedings of an *adjourned meeting* of *anti-slavery delegates* and friends to the cause, assembled from various parts of the United Kingdom, held at Exeter-Hall, on Thursday, the 18th of April, 1839.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in the Chair:

The Committee appointed to prepare a form of Constitution and Regulations on the basis of the Resolutions passed yesterday, and to nominate a Committee and Officers for this Society, submitted the following to the consideration and adoption of the Meeting:—

1. That the name of this Society be, The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

2. That the objects of the Society be the universal extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as Slaves.

3. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society—that so long as Slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

4. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society:—

1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the Slave-trade and Slavery; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of Slave-holding countries not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labor; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British Colonies, and elsewhere; to open a correspondence with Abolitionists in America, France, and other countries; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to Slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favor of free labor.

3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that he Slave of whatever clime or color, on entering any portion of the British Dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suiable opportunity be embraced for evincing in our intercourse with Slave-holders and their apologists our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

5. That every person who subscribes not less than ten shillings annually, or makes a donation of Five pounds or upwards, shall be a member of this society.

6. That the Society be under the management of a Treasurer, Secretary, and a Committee of not less than twenty-one persons, who shall be annually elected, and shall have power to fill up vacancies and to add to their number.

7. That there be held in London a general meeting of the subscribers once in one year, at which a report of proceedings, and a financial statement shall be presented and a committee and officers elected.

8. That the Committee have power to transact all business of the Society, in the intervals of the general meetings, and to convene special general meetings of the Society when necessary.

9. That it be recommended to the Anti-Slavery friends throughout the country to form Auxiliary Societies upon the principles of, and in connexion with this Society.

10. That Auxiliary Societies be empowered annually to appoint, and where such Auxiliaries are not formed, the Committee shall have power annually to appoint, one or more corresponding members, who shall be at liberty to attend and vote at all meetings of the Committee in London; and that the Committee shall also be authorized to appoint annually Honorary Corresponding members who shall have the same privileges.

11. That the following gentlemen be the Committee and officers of this Society.

The Right Hon. S. Lushington, L. L. D.
T. F. Buxton,
William Allen,
George Stacy,
William Ball,
Robert Forster,
Josiah Conder,
Richard Peek,
Robt. Howard,
Henry Tuckett,
John Beaumont,
George Bennet
Josiah Forster,

Rev. J. H. Hinton.
Henry Sterry,
Joseph Cooper,
Stafford Allen,
Richard Barrett,
Samuel Gurney,
Rev. Mr. Woodwark,
Rev. John Young,
W. Taylor,
James J. Wright,
Samuel Fox,
L. C. Lecesne,
Robert Russell,

Treasurer.—G. W. Alexander, Lombard st.
Honorary Secretary.—J. H. Tredgold, 41, Wellclose-square.

On motion of the Right Honorable S. Lushington, L. L. D., seconded by W. Wilson, Esq., it was unanimously resolved:—

"That Thomas Clarkson, Esq., the first and venerable advocate of the abolition; Joseph Sturge, Esq., whose strenuous exertions and personal sacrifices have so greatly contibuted to the extinction of the apprenticeship system, and the movers and seconders of the motions in Parliament, for the attainment of that object, namely:—Sir J. E. L. Wilmot, Bart.; Sir George Strickland, Bart.; Jos. Pease, jr. Esq.; Hon. C. P. Villiers, be Honorary Corresponding members of this Society.

On motion of Jas. Whitethorne, Esq., seconded by Thos. Bignold, Esq., it was resolved—

"That the form of constitution and regulations now read, and the Committee and Officers proposed, be approved by this meeting.

JOSEPH STURGE, Chairman.

Call for the National Convention.

At the last anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it was voted to hold a National Convention at Albany on the 31st day of July next. The undersigned were appointed a committee to issue a Call and make the necessary arrangements for the proposed convention.

In executing the wishes of the Society, they accordingly most cordially invite all such FREEMEN OF THE UNITED STATES AS ADOPT THE PRINCIPLES EMBODIED IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to meet in convention at Albany on the last Wednesday of July next, in the Presbyterian meeting house, at ten o'clock, A. M.

The object of the convention is the thorough discussion of those great principles which lie at the foundation of the abolition enterprize throughout the civilized world; and of the measures which are suited to its accomplishment in the United States, and especially those which relate to a proper exercise of the right of suffrage by citizens of the free states. All questions and matters foreign to this object will be cautiously avoided in the deliberations of the occasion.

W. L. Chaplin,	Utica.
Wm. Goodell,	
Joshua Leavitt,	N. York.
H. B. Stanton,	
Gurdon Grant,	Troy.
N. Safford,	Albany.
A. G. Alner,	
Hiram Fannino,	
Nathan Colburn.	

☞Letter of John Q. Adams.—We had prepared some comments upon this letter, which, however, we must lay over till our next number.

"*Compensation*."—It is said that a new business in the way of raising money has recently been started in Philadelphia—that of kidnapping or stealing children and then hiding them away till a large reward is offered by their parents for their recovery.—*The papers*.

"Compensation!" And why not? Kidnapping and stealing little ceildren is the principal business carried on in one half of the country. Our principal statesmen are engaged in it. Kidnapped children are the staple commodity of export of Old Virginia—and our doctors of divinity insist upon it, that if the kidnappers give them up, they must have a *compensation*! The loafers of Philadelphia seem to have profited under the lectures of their teachers.—*Goodell*.

NOTICES.

RECEIPTS.

PLEDGES AND DONATIONS.

From May 3d to June 14th.

Isaac Lewis P M, towards New A S Book Dep., $5,00; Washington co. A S Soc on old pledge, by Samuel Hall, 10,00; Cornelius Burnett, Cincinnati, on pledge, 20,00; Israel township A S Soc, 18,00; Issac Trembly for Muskingum co. 1,00; Jesse Thomas, Mt Pleasant, don. for Philanthropist 2,50; Lemuel Jones on New Book Depository, 15,00; Joseph F Garretson, don., 2,00; Lemuel Jones, Mt Pleasant, don. 5,00; Mansfield A S Soc on old pledge, 16,00; Peru, (Delaware co) A S Soc 8,00; M D Pettibone on Delaware co pledge, 1,00; Stark co A S Soc in part of pledge, 21,00; Attica, Licking co, A S Soc in full, 15,00; Monroe co A S Soc in full, 11,25; Akron A S Soc 30,00; Newtown A S Soc per H Nye, in full, 11,00; Knox co Soc, in full, 47,75; Sardinia A S S, per A Pettyjohn, 15,25; Tallmadge Soc, in full on pledge, 10,00, New Garden Soc, in full, 30,00; Emily Rose, in full, 5,00; Granville Soc, in full, 59,00; New Concord, in full, 25,00; Richill, Muskingum co, Soc, in full, 30,00; Salem Soc, 10,00; Washington co, in full, 5,50; Buffalo Soc, in ful, 7,00; Oberlin Soc, per Prof. Cowles, in part, 68,00; from Friends of Zanesfield Logan co 6,75; From Pittsburg for Rev J B Mahan, 15,00.

Wm. Donaldson, *Treasurer*.

FOR PHILANTHROPIST.

By L W Knowlton, Agent, for Brown and McCammon, 2,50; Moore & Lyon, 2,50; McNaghton and Graham, 2,50; James Dunlap, 2,50; Ann Creaghead, 2,50; John McDaniel, 2,50; Wm King, 2,50; N Kirkpatrick, 2,50, which pays to whole No. 204; Artemas Day, Agent, 10,00; by E G Dyer, P M, for himself, 2,50; and J S Kellogg, 6,00; T E Thomas, 3.00; by J Lewis P M for John Heberling, sen., 3,00; by J W Brackett, P M, for J Skinner, 1,25; and L Millard, 1,00; Henry Rider, 2,00; Hosea Thomas, 1,25; by Samuel Hall, Agent, for Geo Putnam, 2,50; W S Spaulding, 62cts; and B F Arnold, 62cts. by Alonzo Bailey, Ag't, for Norman Carrier, 1,00; G W Jones 1,00; Derby and Eddy, 50cts; A W Green 50cts; J Goodrich 50cts; James Manning 2,00; Rufus J Bunce 50cts; Harvey Bliss P M 2,00; Margaret Kedzie 2,50; B H Lewis 2,50; and Jesse Dearborn 2,00; by Dr Jos Templeton, Agent, for S Jeffries, 3,75, paid to No. 212; Jas Turnbull 2,50; Wm Anderson 2,50; Robt Shields 2,50; James Brown 2,50; and J C Winters 2,50; Jno O Butler 2,50; W C Myer 2,00; by John H Beard, Agent, for himself 2,50; and Thos C Nicols 2,50; D Cushing 5,00; by Asa Smith, esq. Agent, for Quartus Clark 5,50; Lyman Benton 2,50; and A Canfield 2,50; Wm Butterworth 2,50; James Bayless 2,50; Wm McNishie 2,50; R L Rosebrough 1,25; J Langdon 1,25; Robt Baskin 2,50; by E M Leonard for C T Colton 2,50; J K Vandoorn 2,50; E Benton 5,00, and for books 2,00; Thomas Salter 2,50; by Mr Parker for Dr J Cooper 3,00; Wm Peel 2,50; D McMillan 2,50; Thomas Espy 2,50, Nancy Black 5,00; Mr Sherman 3,00; George Evans 2.00; Wm G Graham 3,00; Hiram Griswold 2,50; Wm Galbreath 5,00; Thos Galbreath 2,50; Joseph Cope 2,50; Curtis Grubb 1,25; Aaron Tomlinson 2,50; Joseph Russell 2,50; Elizabeth McMillen 5,00; Amos M Evans 2,50; Joseph Linnell 2,50; Wm F Hunt 2,50; Aaron Earl, 2 cop. 5,00, Jeptha Duvall 2,50; Armar McFarland 2·50; Wm Karnahan 2,50; Moses Allen, 3,00; James Cope 2,50; James Smith 2,50; Geo Sinclear 2,50; Helon Rose, esq. 2,50, pays to whole No. 218; Richard McGee 2,50; Geo Stuart 2,50; David Bixby 2,50; Joseph Hollis 2,50; Edward Vanhorn 2 50; A Pettyjohn 2,50; Joseph Cole 5,50; E Martin 5,50; H McMasters 3,00; L Miller 2,50; Joshua King 3,00; A Hammond 2,50; Issac H Chandler 2,50; James Smith 2,50; John Carey 2,50, Rev Mr Isaacs 2,50; Elizabeth Henry 2,50; Thos Johnson 2,50; Margaret Miller 2,50; David Atkinson 2,50; Jas C Steele 2,50; Robt McGee 2,50; Jesse Thomas 2,50; Dr. N M Thomas 2,50; Evan Davis 4,00; M Gillespie 2,50, paid to whole No. 208; John Jammeson 2,50; Moses Wiley 2,50; Jas Finley 2,50; Robt Wilson 2.50; Robt Artis or Ardrey 2,50; V R Kimball 2,50; Wm Bryce 2,50; Rev L Dewitt 2,50; Robt Speer 2,50; A A Smith 3,00; Prof Jno Morgan 5.00; Joseph Wylie 2,50; Greenbury Keene 2,50; Ethal Strong 2.50; T Carnahan 2,50; S H Whittlesey 2,50; John Sheppard 2.50; James Cope 2,50; Robt Banks 2,50; Jno Hunt 2 50; Ralph Porter 2,50; Hitchcock and Ston 2,50; Hugh Maxwell 2,50; Elihu Talbert 2,50; James Donnell 2,50; Geo McCoy jr 2,50; Danl Dubois 2.00; Lev Nichols 2,50; Lemuel Rose 2,50; Jno McClure 2,50; Jam Johnston 2,50; by A L Grimes, Agent, for Chas Palme 62cts; Wm Webster 2,50; Wm Karnaghan 2,50; Melza Coulter 2,50; and Jno Lamb 3,00; N Kirkpatrick has pai to whole No 204; E H Knowlton has paid to whole No 194; by Jas Shedd, Agent, for Dr Jno Mote 2,50; J B Cox 2,50; Mrs Atkins 2,50; Ems. Brown 2.50; J H Robbins 2,50 and J H Wareham 2,50; Robt Irwin 2,50; By Alonzo Bailey, Agent, for Hastings and Spencer 1,25; Brooks an Hawk 50cts; Edwin Hall 2,50; Adam James 1,00; Sturtevant and Beach 2.50; Nooney and Tracy 2.50; Wadswort and Foot 2,50; Johns and D'Wolf 2,50; and Hosea Wilde 50cts. by J A Morton, Agent, for Rev. H S Fullerton 2,50 Geo Brown 2,50; Isaac Evans 2,50; and Jas A Morto 2,50, Judge Dunlavy 3,00; Elias C Williams 3,00.

James Boyle, *Publishing Agent*.

Cincinnati Canal Market.

Cincinnati, June, 18, 1839.

Flour, (from boats)	$5 05
do City Mills,	5 50
Corn, " "	56
Oats,	50
Corn Meal,	87
Wheat, per bushel,	90
Butter, fresh,	25 cts.
Lard	10 a 11
Pork—Clear is held at $20 1-2 a 22; Mess 20.	
Hams	11 a 11 1-2

POETRY.

From the Emancipator.

"Will our brethren pray for the abolitionists of Ohio !"—*Vid. Eman. May* 16.

For what shall we pray ?—that the brave and the good
May help the man-thief in the shedding of blood ?
He is hotly pursuing, with warrant in hand,
His slave, thro' the length and the breadth of the land.
The law makes it duty (!)—the law of the State—
To rivet with iron the prisoner's fate:
Shall we pray that the law may be firmly upheld,
And pity from brethren be sternly withheld ?
Shall we pray that the gushing of sympathy's tide
May be stayed by the voice of oppression and pride ?
When Christ, with his chosen, on Galilee's wave
Was toss'd; they besought him, Almighty to save;
"O save us; we perish:" he uttered the word,
And the sea became calm at the voice of the Lord.
But will he command—he—the merciful Gone,
That the heart of His Zion shall harden to stone ?
Will He say to the swellings of sympathy, ever.
"Be still;"—will the Saviour command it ?—no, never.
He will not shut up the deep springs of the soul;
He will not the rising of pity control,
And make them obey inhumanity's laws,
That consign the 'scaped victim to slavery's jaws.
We never can ask it; God never can give
To the huge, horrid monster so long a reprieve.
If we know how to pray—if, all sprinkled with blood,
We have, trembling, approached to the footstool of God—
If with heart broke with yearning for brothers so dear,
Our eye on that footstool has dropped the warm tear—
If the Spirit will help us with "groanings" that come,
All alive and all warm, from the heart's inner room—
If God will assist us, be this then our prayer,
Ascending on high to be registered there.
O, thou, who art the Friend of the oppressed;
Almighty to deliver, ever blest;
Whose eye like lightning thro' the earth doth run,
Viewing what e'er iniquity is done;
Look thou upon that wide but coward State,
And on those million freemen, who of late
Bowed down and pledged themselves, with law unjust,
To violate a freeman's sacred trust—
To catch and bind the captive, and deliver
Body and soul to slavery forever.
O shall the line that borders tyranny,
Be sentinel'd by white men and by free,
To make the trembling fugitive return
Where hopeless thousands still in bondage mourn.
O, shall Ohio's pure and noble waters
Keep back poor Afric's sold and ravished daughters ?
God of the poor, thy people now inspire
With heavenly Freedom's bright and living fire.
And when time outcasts from oppression come
To seek with stranger friends a midnight home;
O let them find, what most their mis'ries need.
The friends of freedom; such are friends indeed.
O let no fugitive, for cursed gold,
Back to his house of bondage e'er be sold.
May tyrants seek their goods, but seek in vain,
And let their search produce them only pain;
And when the year has run its destined round,
May men within that judgment-hall be found,
Whose wisdom shall the odious statute blot;
And may that crime of freemen be forgot.
Thus, brethren, we pray, and our prayer shall ascend
Till slavery meet "a perpetual end."
Go on, then; secrete him who comes to your door—
God's fugitive, wretched and famishing poor—
Give a cup of cold water to slacken his thirst
And wipe from his visage the blood and the dust.
Set the table, and set on the wayfarer's food;
Set forth the choice viands refreshing and good;
And shelter the guest till the light of the morning,
Then haste to his bedside and give him the warning;
"Up, stranger, refresh you, and quickly begone;"
Nor send him off empty, but lend him the "roan."
Heaven settles the charges; thy basket and store
God remembers, if thou wilt remember the poor.

So. Deerfield. Mass. May 20.

R. M. W.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SCENES IN THE FAR SOUTH.

The following items we clip from a single number of the Jeffersonville (Ia.) Journal. Well does the Leeds Mercury, an English paper, remark in relation to similar cases of violence,—"they are sufficient prove, that if men will daringly violate the will of God in their relations with their fellow-men, whom they seek to depress to brutes, they may expect to be abandoned to the violence of the unrestrained passions of each other."

LYNCH LAW TRIUMPHANT IN MISSISSIPPI.—At a late term of the Circuit Court for Copiah county, Miss , a man by the name of Alva Carpenter, was put on his trial for murder. "The case had been submitted to a jury of his county, and a verdict rendered against him of manslaughter. As the officers of the Court were about removing the prisoner, a tumult arose, the lights were extinguished, Carpenter was stabbed several times, and actually killed out-right in the hall of the Court. It is supposed that the bloody minded, savage murderers, were the relatives of the individual, for whose death Carpenter had been put on trial. The New Orleans Bee well puts the question, 'Is Mississippi degenerating into barbarism?'—Times are, indeed, sadly out of joint, when such scenes can possibly occur. Lynch law, arson, murder on the highways, or even in our Legislative Assemblies, all sink into utter insignificance, when compared with this brutal attack, not so much upon the life of a prisoner, as upon the dearest and most sacred institutions of the country. Men enacting such schemes would sell their wife, children, country, and hopes of heaven. They are fit copanions alone for demi-devils!"

The New Orleans Courier of a late date, says, that "there are signs of feeling, not the most happy, among the different classes which compose the population of this city. Some time since, the father of a family was struck dead by a blow from a knife or dirk in the hands of a notorious frequenter of dram shops. The trial of the latter came off yesterday; when hundreds of persons assembled round the court-room, who did not scruple to express their wishes that the criminal (for such he has been pronounced by a jury) might escape the vengeance of the law. It is currently reported, moreover, that a very handsome purse was made up by subscription to fee counsel for his defence; and that a respectable lady of this city subscribed $150. We are at a loss for terms to qualify that condition of part of this community, which a knowledge of these facts will lead one to believe actually exists."

MURDER.—The Huntsville Southern Advocate says, that "a man was found dead four miles from Brown's Ferry, on the road leading from the Ferry to Athens, on the 8th ult. It was supposed his death was occasioned by a fire from a gun charged with buckshot, 22 taking effect in his back; he appeared to be about 35 years of age; and from papers found about him, his name is thought to have been JOHN P. WHITE, of Winson county, Miss., and travelling to North Carolina. It appeared as if he was shot from his horse and dragged about 40 yards into the bushes and robbed of all the money that could be found on him; but the murderers missed the principal booty, for, on examining his clothes the sum of $556 in Alabama money was found sewed up in the waistband of his [illegible] A dark bay mare was found hitched

agraph, taken from the Pulaski (Tenn.) Courier, of the 17th inst., that

"One of the perpetrators of the above mentioned murder has been apprehended near Lebanon and and taken back to Athens. He and his accomplice had separated but a short time when be was overtaken by a party of gentlemen from Alabama in pursuit of them. As they were to have met at Lebanon, it is presumed the other has also been taken."

ANOTHER MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI.—We learn from the Natchez Courier of the 20th ult., "that Mr. Leigh, son of B. Watkins Leigh, of Richmond, Va., was shot in Woodville, in a street rencounter, in the early part of last week by a Mr. Davis—Leigh died in two days. The matter arose out of a duel which was to have been fought between Mr. Leigh and Mr. Norris, editor of the Republican, and a general quarrel ensued between some friends of the parties, which occurred in the street wherein Leigh received some injury from Davis. Davis has been bailed in the sum of $15,000."

We learn from the Louisville Journal, that "George W. Horton was shot by George C. Taylor, near Columbus, Mississippi, a few days ago. Horton went to the house of Taylor for the purpose of chastising him with a loaded horse whip, and, though T. endeavored to persuade him off, continued to advance with an uplifted arm until Taylor retreated into the house, took up a loaded gun and shot his assailant through the neck. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide."

THE POLITICAL PARTIES—*by their own showing*. We should be sorry to believe them as bad as they represent each other to be. The loco focos in this State accuse the whigs now in power of a gross neglect of duty in repect to the canals—charge them with all "*the breaks*," &c. &c.—as regularly as the Irish parson, somewhere down east, is said to have charged upon Jefferson's administration all the rainy weather in harvest time. The whigs make brave reprisals by charging "the breaks" on the "Argus incendiaries,"* who, it is affirmed, dig holes in the banks to let off the water and when this device fails, sink old scows full of sand, making it necessary to draw the water off from the obstructed level. *Charity* obliges us to believe that the parties *belie* each other! Rather a severe conclusion to be sure, for *charity* to suggest. But what better can we say for them ?—Their party rancor eats up their veracity. Are we wrong? Must we believe their mutual accusations? In either case we must believe that the people would be wise to put less implicit confidence in their partizan leaders. It is by the influence of just such papers as those just alluded to, that *abolitionists* are befooled and cheated out of their votes at every annual election. If the party presses can be depended upon for, any thing, the parties must be under the direction of————. But we will spare the use of epithets—for abolitionists must not be denunciatory and uncharitable! The charitable whig and locofoco editors will be shocked with them!—*Friend of Man.*

*"*Incendiaries !*"—We have heard of setting the North river on fire—and the Erie canal, we are led to infer, has become equally combustible.

RELICS OF ANTIQUITY.—A few days since, some men who were engaged in digging a large cellar, within the bounds of the public circle of the place, dug up a dense mass of human bones, about six feet below the surface of the earth. They were, by the lapse of years, almost mouldered back to native earth again.

We can, by the aid of history, acquaint ourselves with the manners and customs of many ancient nations, even in distant lands—their rising to wealth and honor, and their falling into poverty and disgrace. But here, at our own doors, lie relics of a once living and acting people, whose mouldering bones, together with the lofty mounds and fortifications, are the only evidence we have of that fact. The most aged of our native Indians, with whom the whites have been acquainted, were not able to give any information on the subject.—From the fortifications still existing in Circleville, it is quite evident that they were a people skilled in war. But the query follows: by whom did they fall, when did they fall, did they all fall, or whither have their kindred gone?—*Religious Tellescope Circleville.*

SLAVERY AS IT IS.—The mind of Theodore Weld has not been idle. The labor of preparing this work is sufficient proof that a great and mighty purpose has moved its energies. It is a tremendous book. It collects from ten thousand publications in the different states, vivid illustrations of the appaulling nature of slavery. Some of the statements may turn out to be false, some to be exaggerated; but many of the proofs are of such a nature as silence at once all idea of contradiction. Whoever reads this book, and contemplates steadily the conclusions which even the one half of the indisputable portion of this volume will force upon the sober reasoner, will shudder all his life at the thought of American slavery. Let the system be fully disclosed; and when the day of emancipation shall come, the American nation will look back upon it with feelings analagous to those which sometimes convulse the frame when some circumstances of fearful personal peril but just escaped is recollected.—*N. Y. Evang.*

"DYING AWAY."—Since the commencement of the present year, ten new papers (and we know not how many more) devoted altogether or in part to the dissemination of anti-slavery principles, have been started. All of these that we have seen are conducted with much ability, and appear to be well sustained. Several of them have come into being since Mr. Clay "killed off" abolition by his celebrated pro-slavery speech. This looks very much like what Professor Wright calls "dying away bigger and bigger all the time."—*Christian Witness.*

THE SLAVE HOMICIDE.—We should like to know whether *the least effort* has been made to discover how it was, that the man found dead in Mr. Mather's yard, got knocked in the head? It is due to public justice that such events should be investigated. If they are to be passed over with indifference—if thy are to happen with impunity, who is safe?

It does seem to us, that law, justice, social adhesiveness, religion, democratic equality, and the *amor loci*, have about as slight a foothold in this metropolis, as liberty has in a pacha's province.

We wish the people of the United Ststes could come and see what sort of a *democracy* we are, in this their centre of equality and freedom!—*Madisonian, May* 22.

Newspaper Statistics.

In Spain,	there are	12	newspapers.
" Portugal,		17	do
" Switzerland,		30	do
" Belgium,		62	do
" Denmark,		80	do
" Austria,		82	do
" Russia and Poland,		84	do
" Holland,		150	do
" Great Britain,		274	do
" Prussia,		288	do
" Other Germanic St's,		308	do
" Austria,		9	do
" Africa,		12	do
" Asia,		27	do
" America,		11,138	do
Total,		12,573.	

It will be perceived by the above list, that the number published in France is omitted, and it well [illegible] has so completely muzzled the press,

SEMINOLE WAR.—The accounts given by Gen. Macomb, of a peace patched up with the Seminole Indians, turn out to be nothing but *Florida stories.* The best terms he can obtain from the Seminoles is, "let us alone and we will not molest you."—*Cin. Gaz.*

"OPPOSED TO SLAVERY."—Henry Clay, who lives upon the unrequited labor, of his fellow-men, and calls himself the owner of some fifty or sixty human beings, calls God to witness that he is "opposed to slavery."

Dr. Hoge of Princeton who has woven a specious web of sophistry to show that slavery is sanctioned in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, solemnly asseverates that he is 'opposed to slavery."

Why should not little men adopt the sentiments as well as ape the manners of great men?

The editor of the Pittsburgh Daily Advocate, who advertises, girls to be sold at public auction and rewards for men flying from oppresson, declares most solemnly that he is "opposed to slavery."

High Constable Such, who, in pursuance of his '*duty*,' volunteers, for a consideration, to catch girls for the human flesh-mongers, "is now, and always has been opposed to slavery."

As a gambler is opposed to cards—a sot to whiskey—an usurer to money—a politician to office—a lawyer to a fee—a cortier to preferment—a belle to flattery—or Beelzebub to sin.

GAGGING IN THE SABBATH SCHOOL.—A friend informs us that not long since, in a village in Oneida county, situated on the Sauquoit Creek, a superintendent of a Sabbath School was explaining the passage of Scripture which speaks of the 'thirty pieces of silver' for which Christ was sold, and when stating from Dr. Clarke on that passage, that it was 'the price of a slave,' he was ordered to be *silent*, as it was nothing more nor less than a species of abolition.

DEATH OF MR. MEGGETT.—We learn that Mr. Leggett, late editor of the Plaindealer, is dead.—He had long been ill with the liver compluint, and finally sunk under it.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

CONSUMPTION, ASTHMA AND WHOOPING COUGH CURED.

That coughs, colds, asthma, and spitting of blood should in no case be neglected, is familiarly known to every one.—Why is it? Is it not that many with a pre-disposition to diseases of the lungs, when they begin to cough consider it but a slight cold, postpone taking efficient means until the disease becomes confirmed, and too late, discover their error. That all do not thus, may be learned by the following letter from the Rev. Prof. *Stowe*, of Lane Seminary.

Doctor Peck :

SIR—My family is constitutionally pre-disposed to irritation of the throat and lungs, and occasional attacks of severe coughing. In a recent violent affection of this kind, in which myself and two children were the sufferers, the latter with *Whooping Cough*, I found the Watasia a speedy and effectual remedy.

C. E. STOWE.

Cincinnati, November 1, 1838.

The proprietor is receiving almost daily proof of the superior efficacy of the Watasia in all diseases of the lungs.

For sale, wholesale and retail, at *Apothecaries Hall*, 19 Main street, 4 doors above Front.

Feb. 15, 94tf. PECK & CO.

ON LOW SPIRITS.

Low spirits is a certain state of the mind accompanied by indigestion, wherein the greatest evils are apprehended upon the slightest grounds, and the worst consequences imagined. Ancient medical writers supposed this disease to be confined to those particular regions of the abdomen technically called hypochondria which are situated on the right or left side of that cavity, whence comes the name hypodriasas.

Symptoms.—The common corporeal symptoms are flatuency in the stomach or bowels, acrid eructations, costiveness, spasmodic pains and often an utter inability of fixing the attention upon any subject of importance or engaging in any thing that demands vigour or courage. Also languidness—the mind becomes irritable, thoughtful, desponding, melancholly and dejected, accompanied by a total derangement of the nervous system. The mental feelings and peculiar train of ideas that haunt the imagination and overwhelm the judgement, exhibit an infinite diversity. The wisest and best of men are as open to this affliction as the weakest.

Causes.—A sedentary life of any kind especially severe study, protracted to a late hour in the night, and rarely relieved by social intercourse or exercise, a dissolute habit, great excess in eating or drinking, immoderate use of mercury, violent purgatives, the suppression of some habitual discharge, (as the obstruction of the mensus) or more important organs within the abdomen is frequent cause.

Treatment.—The principal objects of treatment are, to remove indigestion, strengthen the body, and enliven the spirits, which may be promoted by exercise early hours, regular meals, pleasant conversation—the bowels (if costive) should be carefully regulated by the occasional use of a mild aperient. We know nothing better adapted to obtain this end, than Dr. Wm. Evans' Aperient Pills—being mild and certain in their operation. The bowels being once cleansed his inestimable Camomile Pills—(which are tonic, anolyne, and anti-spasmodic) are an infalliable remedy, and without dispute have proved a great blessing to the numerous public.

Some physicians have recommended a free use of mercury, but it should not be resorted to: in many cases it greatly aggravates the symptoms.

Dr. Wm. Evans, Camomile and Family Aperient Pills for sale by his several agents throughout the Union. See list of agents in this paper.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT.

Nervous diseases, liver complaint, dyspepsia, billious diseases, piles, consumption, coughs, colds, spitting of blood, pain in the chest and side, ulcers, female weakness, mercurial diseases, and all hypochondriacism, low spirits, palpitation of the heart, nervous weakness, fluor albus; seminal weakness, indigestion, loss of appetite, heart burn, general debility, bodily weakness, chiorosis or green sickness, flatulency, hysterical faintings, hysterics, headaches; hiccup, sickness, night mare, rheumatism, asthma, tic doulouroux, cramp, spasmodic affections, and those who are victims to that most exeruciating disorder, GOUT, will find relief from their sufferings by a course of Dr. Wm. Evans medicine.

Also, nausea, vomiting, pains in the side, limbs, head, stomach or back, dimness or confusion of sight, noises in the inside, alternate flushes of heat and chillness, tremors, watchings, agitation, anxiety, bad dreams, spasms.

Principal Office 100 Chatham street, New York.

THE FOLLOWING

Interesting and astonishing facts, are amongst the numerous Cures performed by the use of Dr. Wm. Evans' Medicines.

Principal Office, 100 Catham street, New York, where the Dr. may be consulted personally or by letter (post paid) from any part of the United States, &c. Persons requiring medicines and advice, must enclose a bank note, or order.

CERTIFICATES.

More Conclusive proofs of the extraordinary efficacy of Dr. Wm. Evans' celebrated Camomile and Aperient Anti-Billious Pills, in alleviating afflicted mankind.—Mr. Robert Cameron, 101 Bowery. Disease, Chronic Dysentery, or Bloody Flux. Symptoms, unusual flatulency in the bowels severe griping, frequent inclination to go to stool, tenesmus, loss of appetite, nausea, vomiting, frequency of pulse, and a frequent discharge of a peculiarly fœtid matter, mixed with blood, great debility, sense of burning heat, with an intolerable bearing down of the parts. Mr. Cameron is enjoying perfect health, and returned his sincere thanks for the extraordinary benefit he had received.

☞ASTHMA. *Three years standing.*—Mr. Robert Monroe, Schoylkill, afflicted with the above distressing malady. Symptoms, great languor, flatulency, disturbed rest, nervous headache, difficulty of breathing, tightness and stricture across the breast, dizziness, nervous irritability and restlessness, could not lie in a horizontal position without the sensation of impending suffocation, palpitation of the heart, distressing cough, costiveness, pain of the stomach; drowsiness, great debility and deficiency of the nervous energy. Mr. R. Monroe gave up every thought of recovery, and dire despair set on the countenance of every person interested in his existence or happiness, till by accident he noticed in a public paper some cures effected by Dr. Wm. Evans' Medicine in his complaint, which induced him to purchase a package of the pills which resulted in completely removing every symptom of his disease. He wishes to say his motive for this declaration is, that those afflicted with the same or any symptoms similar to those from which he is happily restored, may likewise receive the same inestimable benefit.

Liver Complaint—Ten years standing.—Mrs Hannah Browne, wife of Joseph Browne, North Sixth street near Second street, Williamsburg, afflicted for the last ten years with Liver Complaint restored to health through the treatment of Dr. Wm. Evans. Symptoms: Habitual constipation of the bowels, total loss of appetite, excruciating pain of the epigastric region, great depression of spirits, languor and other symptoms of extreme debility, disturbed sleep, inordinate flow of the menses, pain in the right side, could not lay on her left side without an aggravation of the pain, urine high colored, with other symptoms indicating great derangement of the functions of the liver.

Mrs. Browne was attended by three of the first physicians, but received no relief from their medicine, till Mrs. Browne procured some of Dr. Wm. Evans invaluable preparations, which effectually relieved her of the above distressing symptoms, with others, which it is not essential to intimate.

JOSEPH BROWNE.

City and County of New York, SS.

Joseph Browne, Williamsburgh, Long Island, being duly [illegible] depose and say that the facts set forth in the within statement, to which he has subscribed his name, are just and true.

JOSEPH BROWNE,
Husband of Hannah Browne.

Sworn before me this 4th day of January, 1837.
PETER PINCKNEY, Com. of Deeds.

☞Another recent test of the unrivalled virtues of Dr. Wm. Evans' Medicines.—*Dyspepsia, ten years standing.*—Mr. J. M. Kenzie, 176 Stanton street was afflicted with the above complaint for ten years, which incapacitated him at intervals, for the period of six years, in attending to his business, restored to perfect health under the salutary treatment of Dr. Wm. Evans.

The symptoms were, a sense of distension and oppression after eating, pain in the pit of the stomach, nausea, impaired appetite, giddiness, palpitation of the heart, great debility and emaciation, depression of spirits, disturbed rest, sometimes a bilious vomiting and pain in the right side, an extreme degree of languor and faintness; any endeavor to pursue his business causing immediate exhaustion and weariness.

Mr. McKenzie is daily attending to his business, and none of the above symptoms have recurred since he used the medicine. He is now a strong and healthy man. He resorted to myriads of remedies, but they were all ineffectual. He is willing to give any information to the afflicted respecting the inestimable benefit rendered to him by the use of Dr. Wm. Evans' medicine.

An extraordinary and remarkable cure.—Mrs. Mary Dillon, Williamsburgh, corner of Fourth and North streets, completely restored to health by the treatment of Dr. Wm. Evans, 100 Chatham street.

The symptoms of the distressing case were as follows: Total loss of appetite palpitation of the heart, twiching of the tendons, with a general spasmodic affection of the muscles, difficulty of breathing, giddiness, languor, lassitude great depression of spirits, with a fear of some impending evil, a sensation of fluttering in the pit of the stomach, irregular transient pains in different parts, great emaciation, with other symptoms of extreme debility.

The above case was pronounced hopeless by three of the most eminent physicians, and the dissolution of the patient awaited by her friends, who were in attendance, She has given her cheerful permission to publish the above facts, and will also gladly give any information to any inquiring mind.

MARY DILLON.

Dyspepsia and Hypocondriacism.—Interesting case.—Mr. William Salmen, Green street, above Third, Philadelphia, afflicted for several years with the following distressing symptoms. Sickness at the stomach, headache, dizziness, palpitation of the heart, impaired appetite and weakness of the extremeties, emancipation and general debility, disturbed rest, a sense of pressure and weight at the stomach after eating, nightmare, great mental despondency, severe flying pains, in the chest back and sides, costiveness, a dislike for society, or conversation, involuntary sighing, and weeping, languor and lassitude upon the least exercise.

Mr. Solomon had applied to the most eminent physicians who considered it beyond the power of medicine to restore him to health; however as his affliction had reduced him to a very deplorable condition, and having been recommended by a relative of his to make trial of Dr. Wm. Evans medicine, he with difficulty repaired to the office and procured a package to which, he says he is indebted for his restoration of life, health and friends. He is now enjoying all the blessings of health.

Persons desirous of further information, will be satisfied in every particular as to this astonishing cure at Dr. Wm. Evans' Medicine Office, 100 Chatham street New York.

A severe case of Piles cured at 100 Chatham street—Mr. Daniel Spanning of Shrawsbury, Eden Town, New Jersey, was severely afflicted with Piles for more than twenty years. Had had recourse to medicines of almost every description, also the advice of several eminent physicians, but never found the slightest relief from any source whatsoever until he called upon Dr. Evans of 100 Chatham street, New York, and procured some medicine from him which he found immediate relief, and subsequently a perfect cure.

An extraordinary cure performed by Dr. Wm. Evans, of 100 Chatham street, New York. Mr. W. W. W. of 160 Eldridge street, was laboring under a disease, which was by many physicians considered incurable, and could find no relief from any source whatever until he made application to Dr. Evans, and placed himself under his successful course of treatment; from which he began to find immediate relief, and in a few weeks was perfectly cured.

Remarkable case of Acute Rheumatism, with an affection of the Lungs—cured under the treatment of Dr. Wm. Evans, 100 Chatham street, New York, Mr. Benjamin S. Jarvis, 13 Centre street, Newark, New Jersey, afflicted for four years with severe pains in all his joints which were always increased on the slightest motion; the tongue preserved a steady whiteness, loss of appetite, dizziness in his head, the bowels commonly very costive, the urine high coloured, and often profuse sweating, unattended by relief. The above symptoms were also attended with considerable difficulty of breathing with a sense of tightness across the chest, likewise a great want of due energy in the nervous system. The above symptoms were entirely removed and a perfect cure effected by Dr. Wm. Evans.

BENJ. S. JARVIS.

City of New York SS.

Benjamin S. Jarvis being duly sworn, doth depose and say that the facts stated in the above certificate subscribed by him, are in all respects true. BENJ. S. JARVIS.

Sworn before me, this 25th of November, 1836.
WM. SAUL, Notary Public, 96 Nassau.

A Case of Tic Doloreux.—Mrs. J. E. Johnson, wife of Capt. Joseph Johnson, of Lynn, Massachusetts, was severely afflicted for ten years with Tic Doloreux violent pain in her head, and vomiting, with a burning heat in the stomach, and unable to leave her room. She could find no relief from the advice of several physicians, nor from medicines of any kind, until after she had commenced using Dr. Evans medicine, of 100 Chatham street, and from that time she began to amend, and feels satisfied if she continues the medicine a few days longer, will be perfectly cured. Reference can be had as to the truth of the above, by calling at Mrs. Johnson's daughters Store, 389, Grand street New York.

Paralytic Rheumatism.—A perfect cure effected by the treatment of Dr. Wm. Evans, Mr. John Gibson, of North Fourth street, Williamsburg afflicted with the above complaint for three years and nine months; during which time he had to use crutches. His chief symptoms were excruciating pain in all his joints, but especially in the hip, shoulder, knees and anckles; an aggravation of the pain towards night, and for the most part all times from the external heat, an obvious thickining of the fascia and ligaments, with a complete loss of muscular power. For the benefit of those afflicted in a similar manner, Mr. Gibson conceives it meet to say that the pains have entirely ceased, and that his joints have completely recovered their natural tone, and he feels able to resume his ordinary business.

Mrs. Anne F. Kenny, No. 115 Lewis street, between Stanton and Houston, afflicted for ten years with the following distressing symptoms: Acid, eructation, daily spasmodic, pains in the head, loss of appetite, palpitation of her heart, giddiness and dimness of sight, could not lie on her right side, disturbed rest, utter inability of engaging in any thing that demanded vigour courage, sometimes a visionary idea of an aggravation of her disease, a whimsical aversion to particular persons and places, groundless apprehensions of personal danger and poverty, an irksomeness and weariness of life, discontented, disquietude on every slight occasion, she conceived she could neither die nor live; most miserable life, never was any one so bad, with frequent mental hallucinations.

Mr. Kenny had the advice of several eminent physicians, and had recourse to numerous medicines but could not obtain even temporary alleviation of her distressing state, till her husband persuaded her to make trial of my mode of treatment.

She is now quite relieved and finds herself not only capable of attending to her domestic affairs, but avows that she enjoys as good health at present as she did at any period of her existence.

J. Kenny, husband of the aforesaid Anne Kenny.

Sworn before me, this 14th day of December, 1836.
PETER PINCKNEY, Com. of Deeds.

A letter from Mr. Sheldon P. Gilbert to Dr. Wm. Evans, proprietor of the celebrated Camomile Pills:

Dear Sir—Had the immortal Cowper known the medical qualities of the Camomile Plant, he as well as thousands since (besides myself,) would have experienced its wonderful effects on the nervous system. The public utility of Cowper was blighted in the bud, through the natural effect of his nervous debility upon the mental powers, which made it necessary for him to seek relief beneath the rural shade, but the calm retreat gave his physical nature no repose. If some one then had known the secret of concentrating the medical virtues of Camomile, the discoverer would have been immortalized with poetic zeal as the benefactor of suffering men.

The above lines were prompted from the effect I have experienced from Dr. Wm. Evans' Camomile Pills.

Yours, with esteem, SHELDON G. GILBERT.
Durham, Greene County, New York.

For sale by
F. & A. S. EVANS, Hillsborough.
WM. HIBBEN, Wilmington.
WEBSTER, MELVIN, & Co. Wash'n.
J. R. ROBINSON, Portsmouth.
Also by S. C. PARKHERST, 23 Lower Market street,
Cincinnati.

And all principal towns in the Union.
May 30, 1839. 14—ft.

THE MISSES BLACKWELLS'

In thanking their friends and the public, for the unusually flattering patronage they have received, would state, that they are ready to take a limited number of Boarding Pupils, and believe that their former experience in tuition, will insure the comfort and improvement of those entrusted to their care.

MISS BLACKWELL, Teacher of Music and Singing, informs her friends and the public, that she will be happy to instruct in those accomplishments, at her residence, on East Third Street, between Lawrence and Pike, where she will have constantly on hand, an assortment of very superior Pianos, at the New York prices.

PIANO FORTES,

Of very superior style, from the House of Stoddard & Co., N. York, also a large and fashionable assortment of Vocal and Instrumental Music, just received by Miss Blackwell, and for sale at her residence on East Third st., between Lawrence and Pike.

January 21, 1—tf.

THE ECLECTIC SCHOOL BOOKS.

250,000. *TRUMAN & SMITH, School Book Publishers*, 150 Main street Cincinnati—Continue the publishing of the Eclectic Series of School Books, by President McGuffey and others. No School Book enterprize in the United States has received an equal patronage. In the short time the series has been before the public, about *Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand* copies have been published. Their great excellence has gained for them the admiration of Educaters, and they are generally adopted as *standard* class books in the schools of Western and South States.

Two highly important works—Professor Mansfield's 'Political Grammar,' and Miss Beecher's 'Moral Instructor,'—have recently been added to the series.

November 20th, 1838. 44-3w.

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MASSACHUSETTS

I. Knapp, *Boston,*

LOVE! LOVE!! LOVE!!

A complaint of the heart, growing out of an inord
longing after something difficult to obtain. It attacks
sons of both sexes, generally between the ages of fo
and thirty; some have been known to have it at the age of
SYMPTOMS.—Absence of mind, giving things v
names; calling tears nectar, and sighs zephyrs; a great
ness for poetry and music; gazing on the moon and
toothache, bleeding at the nose; loss of apetite, negl
business; a loathing for all things save one: bloodshot
and a constant desire to sigh.
EFFECTS.—A strong heart-burn; pulse high, stupidl
quent eyes; sleeplessness, and all that sort of thing; at
imagination bright; powers of roses; winged cupids
buttered peas; and then again oceans of despair, rack
tures, and hair-triggered pistols.
CURE.—GET MARRIED.
And the moment you make up your minds to be c
go right away to BURNETT'S FANCY CAKE AND
FECTIONARY STORE, on the upper side of Fifth Stre
tween Vine and Walnut, where you can be supplied
that most essentially necessary article; the *WEDI*
CAKE, in all its varieties, Plain, Plumb, and Pyra
Iced, Ornamented, and plain—beside *Kisses*, Mattoes
Cakes—Almonds, Raisins, and all that sort of thing.
April 8th, 1839. 12—3

CONFECTIONARY.

South East corner of New & North Streets, betw
Broadway and Sycamore.

MESSRS. LEACH & HUNSTER, respectfully
their friends and the public generally that they have refi
their House in a neat style for the reception of ladies ar
tlemen, and are now prepared to receive those who may
them with a call, with Sodawater, Lemonade, Ice (
Mead, Syrups, Candies, Cakes, Nuts, and Fruits.
pledge themselves that no exertion shall be wanting o
part to render satisfaction to those who may favor the
a call, and hope again to receive that patronage so li
extended to them heretofore.
May, 28th, 1839. 18

NEW MAP OF OHIO.

This new and splendid Map is now in the course o
ery, and subscribers will be furnished as fast as th
can supply them.
Extract from the Report of the Committee of th
tees and Visitors of common schools of Cincinnati.
"That they have carefully examined said Map,
highly respectable testimonials in its favor and do n
tate in saying that we believe it to be one of the best
ted and most correct Maps of our state that we ha
seen." * * * *
"*Resolved*, That the President be authorised to p
thirty copies of Doolittle & Munson's Map of Ohio,
use of the common schools of Cincinnati." Which
was accepted and resolution unanimously adopted,
12, 1839.
Columbus, June, 8,
In compliance with the provisions of our act of t
eral Assembly passed Jan. 27, 1838. We have ex
and do approve of Doolittle & Munsons Map of Ohi
JOSEPH VANCE, *Gov. of*
CARTER B. HARLAN, *Sec. of State*;
The above Map is for sale at the publishers roo
stairs) corner of Main and 5th st. Cincinnati. Also
al Maps of Iowa, and Wisconsin Territories, pocket
Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. Mitchels large
the United States, and World, large Maps of Indian

COUNTRY SEATS AND FARMS FOR SA

A COUNTRY Seat with two acres of land, situ
miles from town upon a turnpike road, having a go
house with 9 rooms, a cellar and a portico; also a st
a garden with many fruit trees.
A Country Seat with 4 acres of land, situated
Lebanon turnpike, 3 miles from town. The impro
consist of a new frame house with 7 rooms and
also a frame barn with a stable and a carriage house
milk house, a cistern, a garden, an orchard of 10
young fruit trees and two never failing springs.
A Country Seat, 3 miles from town, with 8 acre
also a frame house having 4 rooms, a cellar and a
frame stable, a carriage house, a small orchard, a w
spring.
A Country Seat with 12 acres of land, 4 miles fro
having 7 acres in meadow, 2 in timber, a large gar
peach, cherry and various other fruit trees, and 1
grape vives; likewise a frame house with 7 rooms,
cellar and a porch; also a cistern and several springs
A farm of 1t5 acres located 7 miles from tow
80 acres in culture, an orchard of select fruit trees
ous kinds; a garden with cedar and ornamental tree
brick house having seven rooms, a hall, a cellar and
also a commodious frame barn, a frame smoke hou
ant's house with two rooms, and other out-buildin
land is good quality, well situated and watered
merous springs.
A fertile Farm of 108 acres, situated upon a
road, 14 miles from town, having 90 acres in cultiv
excellent frame house with 8 rooms, a cellar, a kit
two porches; a tenant's house, an extensive fram
stable for 8 horses, and a large corn loft; also too
wagon, gear, wash, carriage, and cider houses; t
several cisterns and many springs: also a superior o
choice fruit trees, a culinary garden with many fi
and grape vines. The land is very rich, level,
fenced with posts and rails, with gates for the fiel
buildings are new, well painted and laid out in g
calculated for a gentleman of fortune.
Apply to THOMAS EME
Estate and Money Agent,
Ap. 10—12 tf East Fourth st

MONEY IN ENGLAND.

Persons wishing to procure money from any p
gland, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, by instruct
friends to remit it through their Bankers to the
Thomas Emery with Messrs. Baring Brothers &
don can receive the cash in Cincinnati, or elsewh
sired, as soon as advised. When the money is p
English Bankers, the names of the parties for wh
is designed must be particularly stated.
THOMAS EMERY, *E*
and Money Agent, 11 *East Fou*

C. DONALDSON & CO.
IMPORTERS & DEALERS IN HARDW
CUTLERY, in all its Varieties.
No. 18 *Main street, Cincinnati.*

N. B—A large assortment of the above goods
stantly on hand, which they offer for sale, Who
Retail on the most favorable terms.

MR. EDITOR:—Please cut from your exchange
Quincy (Ill.) Whig, a gratuitous testimonial of the
TOMATO *medicine* by Doctors EELLS & NICHO
appear in that paper under date March 30, and
Proprietors.

MILES' COMPOUND EXTRACT OF T

Having used to some extent for the year pa
Compound Tomato Pills, and having learned th
ents of which the pills are composed, we are sati
will prove a beneficial remedy, when judiciously
tered, and feel safe in recommending them to t
as a safe, convenient, and useful medicine, and
substitute for Calomel.
RICHARD EELLS
ADAM NICHOLS,
Quincy, Illinois, March 27, 1839.

Miles's Compound Extract of
TOMATO PILLS.

WE are happy to acknowledge the growing in
nifested by an enlightened and discriminating pub
success of the TOMATO Medicine.
The fact that we make known to the faculty its
and explain to them, upon inquiry, every thing
to the *modus operandi*, which it is all-essential
known, to enable the physician to understand
he is prescribing, and of course to know the resu
should follow, with the same degree of certaint
can know them in the administration of any oth
removes from it every suspicion of quackery, an
on a par with other important remedial agents
quently there is no physician who, having tested
tion and efficacy in the removal of disease, ma
scribe the Compound TOMATO Extract with as
priety as he can prescribe a preparation which he
self compounded.
To puff our medicine into general use, has n
any part of our plan of action; and our friends
noticed our communications, will absolve us of
attempt. We believe it to possess as valuable
properties, and as great a therapeutic influence
system, as any other simple or compound prepara
found in the materia medica. But it has been
to bring it before the public, principally by mean
mitting it to the scrutiny and experience of those
necessarily be the best judges of its intrinsic m
physicians. We were willing, after a frir trial, t
their decision, and we have not been disappoin
result.
Unlike the thousand secret nostrums of the da
ticle does not fear the scrutiny and investigation
cians, but rather courts it. If, therefore, there is
pound preparation put up for general and family
should be encouraged and extensively patroniz
medical profession, it is the genuine TOMATO
and we trust we shall, ere long, have the satisfact
ing it in general use, and its excellence duly app
all, whose opinion is of any value, however sc
prejudiced they may be at present,
April 9*th*, 1839.